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Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture

BY

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A LITTLE more than a year ago, on the invitation of the Syndicate of the Madras University I delivered the Sir S. Subrahmanya Iyer lecture. I chose for the subject of that lecture the 'Stone Age in India' and gave an account of the life of the Indian people so far as it could be inferred from the relics of the Stone Age collected so far. Then I described that lecture as the first chapter of Indian History. My book on *Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras*, published more than fifteen years ago, is the third chapter of the History of India. The lectures I am going to deliver now, will constitute the second chapter of this entrancing story of the continuous evolution of Indian life from its start when man first appeared on this globe. The proper history of India is not the story of the rise and fall of royal dynasties, nor that of frequent invasions and constant wars, but that of the steady growth of the people in social, moral, and religious ideals, and their ceaseless attempts to realize them in actual life. Hence the work of the historian of India, as I understand it, is chiefly concerned with the construction of pictures of how the people, age by age, ate and drank, how they dressed and decorated themselves, how they lived and loved, how they sang and danced, and how they worshipped their gods and solved the mysteries of human existence.

THE SUBJECT

To the good old Vedic word 'Ārya', European scholars have attached varying connotations. A hundred years ago comparative philology was in its childhood and anthropology in an embryonic condition, and German Sanskritists invaded the realms of anthropology and imposed on it the theory that a highly civilized Aryan race, evolved in the central Asian Highlands, flowed down in various streams to India, Persia, Armenia, and the different countries of Europe, fertilized those countries and sowed the seeds of civilization far and wide. Soon this theory was modified by transferring the original centre of the Aryan race to Europe. The patriotism of French and of German scholars impelled them to rival with each other and to conclude that the motherland of each of them alone could support the honour of being the first centre of Aryan culture. Others assigned this honour to Scandinavia, to Finland, to Russia. As seven cities claimed Homer dead, so several countries claimed to be the original land of the Āryans. Then the Italian Anthropologists came into the scene and proved that the Āryans who invaded Greece, Rome and other European countries were savages who remained in the Stone Age when their neighbours had reached the Bronze Age and that wherever they settled

* A course of lectures delivered at the University.

in old times they destroyed the pre-existing civilization, for instance, in Crete and Etruria. To-day anthropologists say that all the races of the world are more or less mixed and that there never was a distinctive, pure Āryan race. The benefit of the theory of a conquering, civilizing Āryan race is now reserved only for Ancient Indian History, text-books of which teach that the Vedic culture was developed outside India and was imported into that country, ready made, by conquering invaders. But a careful study of the Vedas, such as is found in my *Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras*, reveals the fact that Vedic culture is so redolent of the Indian soil and of the Indian atmosphere that the idea of the non-Indian origin of that culture is absurd. So we have got to restore, to the word 'Ārya', its original meaning found in the Vedas. The Rishis of the Vedas used the word 'Ārya' without any racial implications, but only in the sense of a people who followed the fire-cult as opposed to the fireless-cult. In the Vedic times two cults prevailed in India: (1) that followed by the Āryas to whom Sanskrit was the sacred tongue, the language of the Gods, who made offerings to the Gods through Agni, because they believed Agni to be the mouth of the Gods, and (2) that followed by the Dasyus whom the Āryas described as *anagnī*, the fireless. Thus Ārya was always in India a cult name, the name of a method of worship, whose main characteristic was the lighting of the sacred fire. There were two forms of the Ārya fire cult—the *Grihya* and the *Srauta*, the cult of one fire and the cult of three fires, the *Ekagnī* and *Treṣṭagnī*, the simple domestic fire-rites still performed in the houses chiefly of the Brahmanas and the gorgeous sacrifices, chiefly conducted by *Rajas* in ancient India up to the age of the Armageddon on the plains of Kurukshetra, and now almost extinct. The Ārya rites, besides being characterized by the mediation of the Fire-God, also required the use of Sanskrit *mantras*, which were promulgated by the ancient seers called Rishis; the Dasyu rites had no use for fire or for Sanskrit *mantras* or for a privileged class of expert priests.

When did the Ārya rites rise? It is impossible to determine when the concept of fire as the mouth of the Gods was worked out or when the cult of one-fire began. But it is possible to find out when the three-fire cult commenced. The Vedas and the Purāṇas assert that Purūravas first lighted the triple fire in Pratiṣṭhāna (now Prayāga or Allahabad); and though many royal dynasties rose and fell during the Age of the Rishis, we learn from Pargiter's *Studies of the Traditional History of Ancient India* that more than a hundred kings of one dynasty in particular reigned from the time of Purūravas down to the middle of the first millennium before the Christian era. Disregarding the Paurāṇika claim of incredibly long reigns for some of the kings of this dynasty and allowing a modest average of twenty-five years to each of them, we reach the very probable conclusion that the three-fire cult and the promulgation by the Rishis of the associated Vedic *mantras* on a large scale began about 3000 B.C. Now from the Vedic *mantras* we learn that there was intimate commercial intercourse, though there were cult rivalries, between Southern and Northern India, from the beginning of the age of the Rishis. South Indian articles like pearl, mother of pearl, scented woods, elephants, gold, the pea-fowl, etc., were used in the land of the Āryas (Āryāvarta); a very careful study of these Vedic *mantras* also reveals that the languages of South and

North India began to influence each other, however faintly, from the beginning of the Vedic Age. An analysis of the information contained in these *mantras* also discovers the fact that the Āryas and the Dasyus, though violently opposed to each other in the cults they followed, had attained to absolutely the same level of general culture ; except in the matter of religion and literature, they lived the same kind of life ; they ate the same food, wore the same kind of clothes, had the same amusements, the same customs, manners, etc., and followed the same methods of making love and war.

Is there any way of constructing a picture of the life of any Indian people before the rise of the Ārya cult 5,000 years ago ? The Tamils were the most highly cultured of the people of India before the age of the Rishis and it is proposed here to investigate the culture which the ancient Tamils attained to in South India, before the gorgeous three-fire Ārya rites spread, and the associated Vedic literature was promulgated, in the valleys of the Sindhu and the Gaṅgā.

THREE LINES OF EVIDENCE

There are three lines of evidence which can be utilized for constructing a picture of the life of the ancient Tamils before the rise of the Ārya triple-fire cult in India, north of the Vindhya. The first source of information regarding ancient South Indian life is the catalogue of prehistoric antiquities of South India, of artefacts, discovered by geologists and others, belonging to the Neolithic and early Iron Ages and deposited in the various museums of India. The study of these artefacts has to be supplemented by a careful examination of the sites whence these relics of ancient Indian man have been derived and which represent the settlements of Neolithic and early Iron Age men. Besides a careful study of ancient settlements the investigator ought also to observe the sites of ancient graveyards and conduct excavations of Neolithic and early Iron Age graves in the Tamil country before he can understand their implications with regard to the lives led by the ancient Tamils. The second line of evidence is furnished by a study of the words which the Tamil language possessed before it came in any kind of contact with Sanskrit, the sacred language of the Āryas. Nouns and verbs constitute the trunk of a language and the objects and actions which nouns and verbs refer to must have been possessed by or known to the speakers of a language before they could use those essential parts of speech in their talk. If we could make up a list of the nouns and verbs which, we are certain, belonged to the earliest stratum of the language of a people, we may infer from it what objects they handled or had observed, what actions they were able to perform, in other words, what was the nature of the life that they lived, what was the general culture they had attained to. This is the main object of this study. Our third line of evidence is the early literature of the Tamil people. The existing specimens of this literature no doubt belong to times later than what we are investigating. But we are certain that the even tenor of the life of the people in that ancient epoch was not disturbed by catastrophic changes ; therefore, as the life of the people mirrored in the early literature, which we now possess is,

but an unbroken continuation of that of the earlier epoch, the evidence of that literature can be used to confirm the conclusions reached by the use of the other two lines of evidence. It is proposed in this study to construct a picture of the culture of Tamils five thousand years ago by utilizing these sources of information.

THE EVENING OF THE LITHIC EPOCH

An account of the life of the South Indians of very ancient times derived from a study of the artefacts of the stone ages has been given by me in my *Stone Age in India*. The life of the marauder, of the hunter and the worker in bamboo, of the cowherd and the shepherd, of the farmer and the weaver, and of the fisherman, the salt-scraper and the sailor, had all been evolved amongst them while yet in the New Stone Age, as is proved by the fact that they made polished stone tools necessary for the pursuits of the different means of livelihood associated with these forms of ancient culture. All these different pursuits existed at the same time, each in the region suited to it.

The life of the people at the end of the lithic times may yet be found in the interior of the Tamil land. There still exist in the heart of the Tamil country hamlets and villages where the ubiquitous Telugu Komaṭi is not found, where the ministrations of the all-pervasive Brāhmaṇa do not exist, and where even the *Kabandha* arm of British trade has not introduced kerosene oil and the safety match, called by the people *manṇṇey*,¹ earth-oil and the fire-stick, *iṅṅkuchchi*,² where the whistle of the steam-engine and the toot of the motor horn has not yet been heard, and if you wipe off from the picture of the life of the people there the part played by iron tools, you can see with your eyes the slow placid life of the stone-age man exactly as it was in ten thousand B.C. Even in other parts of the country, which have participated in the elevation of culture due to the later discovery of iron, to the spread of the Ārya culture by the Brāhmaṇas, and to the development of internal trade during the long ages when there were numerous shufflings of dynasties of Indian Rajas and of foreign trade after European ships pierced the extensive sea-wall of Bhāratavarṣha, the greater part of the life of the people is but the life of the stone-age man, exactly as it was when Indian man was in the lithic epoch of culture.

THE DAWN OF THE IRON AGE

About seven thousand years ago, began the Iron Age in India. I assign a greater antiquity to the Iron Age in India than most scholars are inclined to admit, because the Vedic culture which began at least five thousand years ago was a culture of an advanced iron age. Prior to it flourished the cultures revealed by the excavations at Adichchanallūr in the Tinnevely District and Moheñjo Daro and Harappa in the Indus valley. Moreover I shall presently prove that the Iron Age began when Tamil had not come in any kind of contact with Sanskrit

the linguistic vehicle of Vedic culture. Hence two thousand years before Pūruravas lighted the triple-fire at Pratiṣṭhāna is not at all an exaggerated estimate of the length of the Pre-Vedic Iron Age in ancient India.

In India the Stone Age quietly passed into the Iron Age. In other parts of the world, the Stone Age was followed by the Copper Age, in which people made their tools (and ornaments) of copper and they discovered methods of hardening copper and made copper knives with edges as sharp as steel ones, an art which is now forgotten. The Copper Age was soon followed by the Bronze Age, in which they learnt to make an alloy of copper and tin, which was very much harder than copper. But in South India as in China, no brief Copper Age or long Bronze Age intervened between the Neolithic Age and that of Iron. 'Professor Growland, F.R.S., the great metallurgist and the successful explorer, archæologically, of the Japanese Islands, has expressed the idea that the smelting of iron may have been hit upon by accident while experiments were being made. This lucky accident may well have happened in India, where the iron industry is one of great antiquity (far greater indeed than in Europe, e.g., at Hallstat or Le Tené) and iron ores occur so largely.'¹ An examination of several Neolithic sites proves that the passage from the Lithic to the Iron Age was not catastrophic but that the two ages overlapped everywhere. Stone tools continued to be used long after Iron tools were made, more especially on ceremonial occasions, for the stone tool being the older one, was sacrosanct and alone possessed ceremonial purity, and hence stone tools occur along with iron ones in the graves of the early Iron Age.

Mr. Vincent A. Smith, the historian of India, an expert numismatist and not primarily an investigator of pre-historic antiquities and one totally ignorant of South Indian life or history and of early South Indian artefacts, assumes without a shadow of proof that iron was 'utilized in Northern India from at least 1000 B.C.', and that 'in Southern India the discovery or introduction of iron may have occurred much later and quite independently.'² Here are two gratuitous assumptions. The Vedic culture which was developed in India at least before 3000 B.C., was an Iron Age culture. The iron (*ayas*) castles, mythological or actual, spoken of in the Vedic *mantras* and the distinct reference to *syāmamayas*,³ black metal, are enough to prove this. So far as South India is concerned, Foote, who has examined most South Indian pre-historic sites so far known, has concluded that the antiquity of the iron industry of India is far greater than in Europe; and every one who has opened graves of the later Stone Age and the earlier Iron Age and studied the pottery associated with stone and iron tools and has also carefully examined settlements of those ancient times can easily satisfy himself that iron was discovered and worked in South India many millenniums before the beginnings of the Christian era. Soon after iron was discovered, South Indians learned to isolate from their ores gold, silver and copper and make ornaments and utensils of these metals. They also arrived at the general idea of metal as a material for household utensils in addition to stone and

¹ Foote, *Prehistoric Antiquities*, p. 25.

² *Oxford History of India*, p. 4.

³ *Ātharva Veda*, xi. 3, 7.

wood previously used. They gave to metal the name of *pon*,¹ the lustrous material, from *pol*² to shine. Gold was also called *pon*, the metal *par excellence*, as well as *taṅgam*,³ the superior metal, *uṇarṇḍi* *pon*,⁴ the superior (ever clean) metal. Iron was *irumbu*,⁵ the dark metal, from *ir*,⁶ dark (whence *iruvu*,⁷ *irā*,⁸ night, *irul*,⁹ *iruttu*,¹⁰ *iruṭchi*,¹¹ darkness, *irundai*,¹² charcoal). Probably *irumu*¹³ was the earlier form of Telugu *inumū*. Iron was also called *karumbon*,¹⁴ meaning the black metal. Silver was *velli*,¹⁵ the white metal, and copper *sembu*,¹⁶ the red metal. That these four metals were alone known to ancient Tamil India and that tin, lead, and zinc were not known is proved by the fact that the Tamil names of these latter have been borrowed from Sanskrit. Thus tin is *lagaram*,¹⁷ lead is *iyam*,¹⁸ (from Sanskrit *śīsam*, through Prakrit), and Zinc is *tuttam*¹⁹ (whence the English word *tutty*, polishing powder) or *nāgam*.²⁰ Tin and lead are also respectively called *veḷḷiyam*,²¹ and *kāṇiyam*,²² white and black *iyam*,²³ under the mistaken idea that they were black and white varieties of the same metal. Brass, an alloy of copper and zinc, was also borrowed from Aryan India, its name *pittalai*²⁴ being borrowed from the Northern dialects. Bronze, an alloy of copper and tin, was not unknown in ancient Tamil India, for a few bronze implements and ornaments have been discovered in early Iron Age graves; one such, a tiny *kūja*²⁵ (with its mouth so small that the little finger could not be squeezed into it). I recovered from an ancient grave, associated with a bill-hook, whose peculiar shape, similar to that of the weapon of the village gods, betokened its great age; and this vessel was made of an alloy of copper and tin, which, on chemical analysis, was found to be remarkably free from impurities. The Bronze Age in Europe extended over long centuries; but there was no necessity in South India for a Bronze Age, because the people had discovered iron before bronze and iron is a much better material for tools than bronze. The goldsmiths of India have used bronze only for polishing hammers and for stamps and dies, because these have to be made of a material both hard and incapable of being covered with rust, which would deteriorate the faces of polishing-hammers and destroy the delicate lines of the designs incorporated in stamps, dies, and moulds. Otherwise iron alone was the material used for tools in South India throughout the ages. Bronze was called in ancient Tamil *urāi*,²⁶ but the fact that more bronze was imported from Northern India than was made in Southern India, is proved by the use of the words *kañḍiyam*,²⁷ *kāñḍiyam*,²⁸ from Sanskrit *kāṁsyam*, and *tāram*,²⁹ from Sanskrit *tāra*, radiant, shining, as well as the artificial compound words *veṅgalam*,³⁰ the white vessel Malayalam *velloḍu*,³¹ the white shell. Bronze was worked to some extent in South India, but 'the numerous bronze objects, many of which are of great beauty from the cemetaries of the South, do not belong to an age characterized by the sole use of that alloy.'³²

¹பொன். ²பொருள். ³தங்கம். ⁴உயர்ந்தபொன். ⁵இரும்பு. ⁶இருள். ⁷இரவு. ⁸இரவு. ⁹இருள். ¹⁰இருட்டி. ¹¹இருட்டி. ¹²இருக்தை. ¹³இரும்பு. ¹⁴கரும்பு. ¹⁵வெள்ளி. ¹⁶செம்பு. ¹⁷தாது. ¹⁸செம்பு. ¹⁹தாது. ²⁰தாது. ²¹வெள்ளியம். ²²காணியம். ²³செம்பு. ²⁴பித்தலை. ²⁵கூஜா. ²⁶உரையி. ²⁷காண்டியம். ²⁸காண்டியம். ²⁹தாரம். ³⁰வெங்கலம். ³¹வெள்ளோடு.

³² J. Coggin Brown, *Cat. of Prehistoric Antiquities in the Indian Museum*, p. 8. As Foote, too, remarks, 'as it fell out, however, the discovery of the alloy [bronze] was not made in India till after the art of iron-smelting had been acquired and iron weapons and tools had come largely in use.' *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

THE COPPER AGE IN NORTH INDIA

There is some evidence that there was a copper age in some parts of Northern India, which preceded the iron age there. Implements composed of practically pure copper have been found at several sites in Northern India, chiefly in the Upper Ganges Valley. Besides, at Gungeriah in the Balaghat District of the Central Provinces has been found a hoard, which 'according to Sir John Evans . . . is the most important discovery of instruments of copper yet recorded in the old world. In 1870 no less than 424 hammered copper implements, made of practically pure metal, weighing collectively 829 pounds, and 102 thin silver plates were discovered there. The copper implements are extremely varied in form, principally consisting of flat celts of many different shapes. There are also many long crowbar-like instruments with an expanded lunette-shaped chisel edge at the lower end, which may be designated as 'bar-celts'. The silver objects are all laminæ about the thickness of ordinary paper, comprising two classes, viz., circular disks and 'bull's' heads. The Gungeria deposits although found south of the Narbada River, is clearly to be associated by reason of its contents with Northern India.'¹ The Upper Ganges Valley was the home of the Arya cult in ancient days. Hence copper became a holy metal in that cult; copper knives were used in some sacramental acts, e.g., marking cattle's ears,² hence copper vessels to Brahmanas even to-day possess ceremonial purity which bronze and iron vessels do not possess and are used for holding consecrated water during ceremonial worship. Not so outside the Arya cult, where copper is not considered holier than iron, for it was not discovered earlier than the black metal in South India.

IRON AGE ANTIQUITIES

Tools of various shapes have been recovered from the graves of this period. From one site on the Shevaroyys in the Salem District Foote got 'a large axe, a very fine bill-hook of large size with its handle in one piece, a sharp sword and two javelin heads made with tangs instead of sockets.'³ From another site were got 'axe-heads, spear heads and fragments of blades of large knives or small swords. The iron axe-heads had a broad butt unlike a very good one (found in another place, which had) a very taper butt end expanding into a rather leaf-shaped blade. The method of fastening the iron axe-heads to their helves would seem to have been that adopted nowadays or certainly not very long ago, namely, of inserting the butt-end of the axe-head into a cleft in a piece of hard wood with a couple of rings and a wedge to tighten the hold of the helve. The rings are placed on either side of the butt end, and the wedge is driven tightly through the ring spaces and prevents the axe-head from slipping; but the lower end also prevents the cleft in the helve from extending downwards.'⁴ The shapes of the bill-hooks and some other tools of the

¹ J. Coggin Brown, *op. cit.* p. 10.

² *Lohita Svadhiti, Ath. Ved.*, vi. 141, 2.

³ Foote, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 63.. Cf. the way in which the blades of spades, *manvetti*, are furnished with handles now.

early Iron Age were exactly like those of the implements now in the hands of the village gods, as I found from a specimen obtained from a grave in the Pudukotta territory. While the shapes of tools used for secular purposes have changed with time on account of changes of fashion or other causes, the gods have stuck to the oldest fashions of tools.

Pre-historical iron tools have not been found in sufficiently large numbers considering the wide spread of iron manufacture in ancient India; for iron objects of all kinds are with great ease 'utterly destroyed and lost by oxidation when exposed to damp, yet, from the very durable character of the pottery the iron age people produced and the vast quantity of it they left, it is evident that in a large number of cases they must have occupied the old neolithic settlements; and the celts and other stone implements are now mixed up with the highly polished and brightly coloured sherds of the later-aged earthenware. Except in a very few cases the dull-coloured and rough surfaced truly (or rather early) neolithic sherds occur but very sparingly'.¹ Indian iron age pottery was so good that Foote remarks that the people who could make such high class pottery . . . must have attained a considerable degree of civilization.² Foote discovered at Maski near Raichur, in the Hyderabad State, 'the right jamb of the door of a small hut-urn, the prototype of the hut urns now met with in various parts of the country, some of which show remarkable resemblance to the same objects of Western classical antiquity, such as were found under the volcanic tufa near the Alban Lakes to the South of Rome. They were in some cases filled with the ashes of the dead after cremation, which were introduced by a little front door. The door was secured in place by means of a rope passing through two rings at its sides and tied round it. The whole resembled in shape a cottage with vaulted roof'.³ The little door of another little hut-urn found by Foote 'had no hinges but was kept closed by two rude bolts working through flattish rings, on either side of the door, into a wider ring in the centre of it. . . . One in the British Museum . . . is filled with the ashes of the dead, which were introduced by a little door. This door was secured by a cord passing through two rings at its sides and tied round the vase. The cover or roof is vaulted and apparently intended to represent the beams of a house or cottage. The exterior had been ornamented with a meander of white paint, traces of which remain. The ashes were placed inside a large, two-handled vase which protected them from the superincumbent mass. They have no glaze upon their surface but a polish produced by friction.'⁴ But these hut-urns probably belonged to a late age, when on account of the influence of the fire-cult, cremation had been adopted in the place of the more ancient custom of burial.

¹ Foote, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

² *Ibid.*, p. 25.

³ 'The true iron-age vessel (pottery) is distinguished by showing rich colours and highly polished surfaces with, in some cases, elaborate and artistic mouldings.' Foote, *op. cit.*, p. 25; but Indian artists even of the ancient days avoided painting human figures, such as were 'admirably done by the Greek vase painters'. (*Ibid.*, p. 34.) The early Indian had generally a prejudice against portrait-painting or reproducing the figures of kings on coins.

⁴ Foote, *op. cit.*, p. 35. Not only urns but temples also were shaped like huts.

⁵ Foote, *op. cit.*, p. 35

After describing the specimens of pottery found on the left bank of the Cauvery at the ferry at Lakshmanapuram, six or seven miles above the Narsipur Sangam (in Mysore), Foote remarks, 'the people that made the Lakshmanapuram settlement must have been very advanced to have used so varied a set of crockery.'¹ On the French Rocks, not far from Mysore City, Foote found a chatty with the *swastika* emblem. In another place he found 'a perforated disc made out of a piece of dark brown pottery which has been well ground round its periphery and has had a hole equally well-drilled through its centre.'² Apparently it was a spindle whorl. East of the big tank at Srinivasapur in the Kolar Taluk, 'several acres of ground are covered with much comminuted earthenware lying in a thin layer. The prevailing colour of the sherds is red but entirely black occurs also and some specimens are brown and grey, but very few of the latter are met with. The vessels were polished, or smooth, or rough, and a great number of them richly decorated with impressed patterns of pinnate or bipinnate fronds combined with linear bands, raised or sunk. Others have fillets of dots or pildets or trellis work painted on the sides. In hardly any case is a pattern produced in duplicate and there is also great variety in the shapes of the lips of the different vessels as well as in their sizes. The fragments are referable to a considerable number of distinct forms as *lotas*, vessels with spouts, vessels with three or four legs, *chattis*, melon-shaped bowls, wide-mouthed bowls, vases, necks and feet of vases, lids and stoppers various in shape, also pottery discs for playing games and perforated discs of uncertain purpose. Half a dozen pieces of broken bangles of chank shell occurred scattered about in the layer of potsherds.'³

EARLY IRON AGE GRAVES

At Ādichchanallūr, two miles west of Srīvaikunṭam in the Tinnevely District there is 'an inexhaustible field of archæological research of the most valuable description'.⁴ The burial site here extends over a hundred acres of land. It is a long piece of high ground on the south bank of the Tāmraparni. The site, like all sepulchral sites, is higher than the surrounding country and is rocky or waste land unsuited for cultivation. 'About the centre of the ground some three feet of surface soil is composed of gravel, with decomposed quartz rock below. The rock has been hollowed out for the urns, with a separate cavity for each of them. In this burial ground the objects were found both inside and outside large urns of a pyriform shape. The urns were at an average distance of about six feet apart and at from three to twelve feet or more below the surface. Some were found placed over other ones. An idea of the deposits which exist in the whole area may thus be obtained, as an acre probably holds over a thousand urns. This is the most extensive and important pre-historic burial place as

¹ Foote, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

² *Ibid.*, p. 73.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁴ All the quotations in this paragraph are from Rea's *Catalogue of the Prehistoric Antiquities* of the place.

yet known in Southern India.' In the graves have been found articles of gold, bronze and iron and pottery. Among them were diadems of gold of various sizes and oval shape. 'Some have a strip extending beyond the two extremities with a small hole for a wire or string at each end. They are thin plates ornamented with triangular and linear dotted design. Of iron, many implements were found (Mr. Rea's list of them numbers 3,940), always placed point downwards, as if they had been thrust into the surrounding earth by the attendant mourners. There are no implements or weapons in bronze, all articles in this metal being vessels of varied shape, personal ornaments such as rings, bangles and bracelets, or ornaments which have been attached to the bases and lids of vases, such as buffaloes with wide curved horns. The domestic animals represented in bronze are the buffalo, goat or sheep and cock; and the wild animals are the tiger, antelope and elephant. There are also representations of flying birds. There are sieves in bronze in the form of perforated cups fitted into small basins, the metal of these cups being extremely thin, and the basins only a little thicker. The perforations in the cup are in the form of dots arranged in a variety of designs, chiefly concentric circles around the bottom, and concentric semi-circles sometimes interlying around the rim.' There is no evidence of cremation at the place; this assures the great antiquity of the remains, for the custom of burning corpses spread in Southern India along with the Aryan cult from North India.

In the Pudukottah territory I have found rows of early iron age graves several miles long. The one near the village of Annavāsal, ten miles from Pudukottah, is the most notable of these burial sites. The graves are of oblong shape, each oblong consisting of a double square, the side of the square being two cubits in length. It is lined throughout with well-polished stone slabs and the two compartments are separated by another similar slab forming a wall between the two. In one of the squares was probably buried in an urn a chieftain or other ancient nobleman and in the other his wife. There is a circular hole in the middle of the slab separating the compartments, probably to allow the ghosts of the buried persons to communicate with each other. In a niche in the recess in each compartment, a stone lamp was placed which was probably lighted when the person was let into the grave. Inside the urns, as in the graves of the previous age, were placed the ornaments and implements of the dead person, and a tray full of food-stuff. The tools found in these graves are both of stone and iron, proving that the older stone tools continued to be used, more especially, for religious purposes.

A new fashion of tombs called megalithic, because they were built of big blocks of stone, was introduced in the end of the neolithic or the beginning of the iron age. Modern anthropologists are of opinion that the fashion began in the Nile Valley and spread in the wake of an ancient Egyptian sun cult. This shows that there was much intercourse, cultural and commercial, between ancient India and Egypt.

Mr. Longhurst gives the following description of a megalithic tomb he found in Gajjalakonda, in Kurnul District. 'The tomb consists of a large rectangular chamber about 10 feet in length, $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet in width and 7 feet in depth with a small entrance passage on the south side, $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length, $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet in width, and 3 feet high. The sides

and floor of the tomb and entrance passage are walled in and flagged with massive slabs of cut stone which are firmly imbedded in the ground in an upright position and help to carry the heavy slabs above forming the roof over the tomb.'¹

The archæologists' spade has recently brought to light two early copper age settlements of the Sindhu Valley, of more than six thousand years ago,—those of Harappa and Mohenjō Daro. The chief difference between these and the South Indian iron age sites is that in these there are relics of houses built of brick. Brick was used in North India millenniums before it was used in South India, for here very hard wood fit for house-building was available in large quantities till about a thousand years ago. The existence of these two seats of high civilization in the valley of Sindhu disproves conclusively the dream of Sanskrit scholars that Aryan immigrants with their wives and children and with their Lares and Penates, and a ready-made civilization, manufactured outside India, quietly occupied the Panjab about 3000 B.C. and, when these Aryan settlers appeared there, the original dwellers of the region vanished like the mist before the rising sun and let the foreign invaders people the Panjab with a pure Aryan race, possessing the Aryan nose and the Aryan cephalic index, as the current theory maintains. These finds also prove that, contrary to the opinion of Mr. J. Coggin Brown, in the neolithic as well as in the early metal age, there was a uniform degree of civilization attained throughout India. The advances to higher and higher civilization were as even as it was possible to be in a vast country like India.

Thus the evidence accumulated by the investigators of prehistoric antiquities of India proves that even before the spread of the Ārya fire-cult in Northern India, the people had reached a stage of culture indistinguishable from that which they occupy to-day except for the changes introduced by the cotton and metal manufactures of Western Europe during the last hundred years. The rise of the Ārya fire-cult did not alter the stage of culture reached by the people, for we find from the study of the Vedic *mantras* that there was no 'difference of culture between the Ārya and the Dasyu; according to the Hymns composed for performing the Ārya rites, the Dasyus lived in 'cities'² and under kings the names of many of whom are mentioned. They possessed 'accumulated wealth'³ in the form of cows, horses and chariots⁴ which though kept in 'hundred-gated' cities⁵ Indra seized and gave away to his worshippers, the Āryas.⁶ The Dasyus were wealthy⁷ and owned property 'in the plains and on the hills.'⁸ They were 'adorned with their array of gold and jewels.'⁹ They owned many castles.¹⁰ The Dasyu demons and the Ārya gods alike lived in gold, silver and iron castles.¹¹ Indra overthrew for his worshipper, Divodāsa, frequently mentioned in the hymns, a hundred stone castles¹² of the Dasyus. Agni worshipped by the Ārya, gleaming in

¹ *Annual Report of the Archæological Dept., Southern Circle, Madras, for 1914-15*, p. 40.

² R. V. i. 53. 8; i. 103. 3.

³ R. V. viii. 40. 6.

⁴ R. V. ii. 15. 4.

⁵ R. V. x. 99. 3.

⁶ R. V. i. 176. 4.

⁷ R. V. i. 33. 4.

⁸ R. V. x. 69. 6.

⁹ R. V. i. 33. 3.

¹⁰ R. V. i. 33. 13; viii. 17. 14.

¹¹ S. Y. S. vi. 23; A. V. v. 28. 9; R. V. ii. 20. 8.

¹² R. V. iv. 30. 20.

front of him, tore and burnt the cities of the fireless Dasyus¹ Bṛhaspati broke the stone prisons in which they kept the cattle raided from the Āryas.² The Dasyus owned chariots and used them in war like the Āryas³ and had the same weapons as the Āryas. The distinction indicated by 'Ārya' and 'Dasyu' was purely a difference of cult and not of race or culture.⁴

LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE

We now come to another fruitful source of information, the chief means of the study of the subject, i.e., 'pure Tamil words', those belonging to the earliest stratum of the Tamil language, those that were used by the Tamil people before they came in any kind of contact with the users of Sanskrit or with the cult associated with that language. The nouns and verbs belonging to this ancient stratum of the Tamil language indicate objects and actions with which the Tamil people were familiar in that ancient epoch. These 'pure' Tamil words are called *tanittamiḻ moḻigal*,⁵ words untouched by foreign influence; they were used by the Tamils to serve the needs of the culture which they had evolved for themselves before they were influenced by any other people in the world. This method of inferring the culture of a people from a study of the words peculiar to them was worked by Schröder, a generation ago, in his *Pre-Historic Antiquities of the Aryan People*; but Schröder's work suffered from three disabilities: (1) The baseless dream of a homogeneous Aryan race radiating in all directions from a central focus and carrying the torch of civilization to the countries of Western Asia and Europe, has dissolved in the light of Anthropological knowledge. (2) The people that carried the Indo-European dialects and imposed them in those countries have been proved to be a mixture of several tribes; moreover these dialects in their wanderings picked up so many words from other dialects that the words common to all the Indo-European dialects are few. (3) Even these few have undergone many phonetic changes; the laws governing these changes are being worked out so very slowly that many equations of the early scholars, e.g., that of Greek *Ouranos* with Indian *Varuna*, have become discredited by later research. On account of these reasons several conclusions of Schröder have had to be given up by later scholars. But the method of investigation pursued by Schröder is sound and can very well be applied to Tamil. This language, as its speakers have always claimed to be, is indigenous to South India, and grew there undisturbed by foreign languages till it reached a high stage of literary development. The Tamil race has been a homogeneous one since the Stone Age. The first few foreign students of the Tamil language indulged in a wild speculation that the Tamil language and its ancient-speakers entered India from Central Asia, simply because a few Brahui words were found to appear to be allied to Tamil. This is far too slender a basis for concluding that Tamil was originally a non-Indian language. Scholars of two generations ago were fond of wantonly dragging

¹ R. V. vii. 5.3. ² K. v. iv. 28.5; x. 67.3. ³ R. V. viii. 24.27; iii. 30.5; ii. 15.4.

⁴ P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, *Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras*, p. 12.

⁵ தனித்தமிழ்மொழிகள்.

imaginary ancient races on the map of the world, as easily as pawns are moved on a chess-board, without regard for physiographic difficulties.¹ Moreover, they were ignorant of the fact that the extensive and well-developed Stone Age culture of ancient South India, enshrined in the earliest stratum of Tamil is ample proof that the Tamils inhabited South India from time immemorial.

METHOD OF INVESTIGATION

It is the case with Tamil, as with most other languages, that there are two stages in the formation of words, an unconscious and a conscious one. When the science of comparative philology was born, about a hundred years ago, it was imagined that at first men invented and spoke only roots and later, some of the roots became worn out into prefixes and suffixes, prepositions and postpositions, and a German philologist had the hardihood to write Aesop's Fables in an imaginary Indo-Germanic root-language, a kind of ghostly *Ursprache*, which never existed. The science of linguistics has got over this crude supposition. All students of language now recognize that it is as absurd to think that primitive man met in a solemn dumb conclave and invented a series of roots, as it is to assume with Rousseau, that the savage started gregarious life with a 'social contract'. The process of language-formation and language-growth is mostly unconscious; and if a number of words of allied meaning are also etymologically allied, if primitive man used the same stem for expressing ideas which were fundamentally identical, the process was more or less unconscious. Thus in Tamil, *var* is the common element of a series of words: *varappu*² meaning limit, border, wall, dike or ridge round a ploughed field to retain water; *varambu*,³ dam, way, limit, rule; *vari*,⁴ line, row; *varisai*,⁵ order, regularity, row; *varichchal*,⁶ dart, surgeon's probe, *varivadiveputtu*,⁷ written-letter, *elutinu*,⁸ letter, the ultimate unit of language, being conceived as existing in two forms, the spoken form and the written form,⁹ *varivari*¹⁰ (*tannirvittan*),¹¹ *Asparagus racemosus*, a linear-leaved shrub, *varudal*,¹² stroking, thrumming a stringed (musical) instrument, *varai*,¹³ measure, limit, shore, ridge, hill, the straight bamboo, write, draw, *varaivu*,¹⁴ measure, limit, bound, separation. The implication of these facts is not that the

¹ As Mr. G. Elliot Smith has remarked (*vide Nature* January 1, 1927, p. 21) 'in ethnology emotion still counts for more than reason'. The dominating principle is still to force the evidence into conformity with certain catch-phrases from which a long line of philosophers have been striving to rescue the study of mankind and make a real science of it.'

² வரப்பு. ³ வரம்பு. ⁴ வரி. ⁵ வரிசை. ⁶ வரிச்சல். ⁷ வரிவகுவுத்து. ⁸ எழுத்து.

⁹ In this connection may be remembered Pavanandi's definition :

மொழிமுதற் பரண மரணுத் திரிபு என வகுத்தது.

eluttu, the sound, formed by a group of atoms, which is the first cause of words Nannūl, 58. *Eluttu* has two manifest forms, the spoken and the written.

¹⁰ வரிவரி. ¹¹ தண்ணீர்விட்டான. ¹² வகுடல்.

¹³ The word *varai*, வரை, appears in Telugu as *varāyi*, by a process of oscillation of accent from the first syllable to the second syllable, of the consequent degeneration of the vowel of the first syllable, and the return of the accent to the new first syllable. This oscillation explains the formation from Tamil *avan* or *vān*, *vāṇḍu*, *vāṇḍu*, from Tamil *maram* or *marṇu*, and hundreds of other similar formations.

¹⁴ வரைவு.

South Indian man, when he was still dumb, arrived at the highly abstract concept of a limit marked by a straight line by a mysterious mental process unassisted by language, whereas modern man with his highly developed intelligence cannot engage himself in abstract thought without the help of words, that the primitive Tamil then invented the root *var* to express this concept, and later, formed the above words by ringing changes on the root. Language formation and linguistic growth and change are semiconscious or rather unconscious mental processes like the song of the lark or the gambol of the kid. It was when a people first came in intimate contact with a language other than their own and compared the two and noticed differences in the structure of words, of phrases and of sentences between the two languages, that they began to study their own language and the science of grammar was born. After such a contact with a foreign language, languages enter on a conscious stage of growth. Thus the words of a language belong to two stages of the growth of that language. (1) An early unconscious stage of word-invention, during the period when the language has not yet come into contact with a foreign language. Nouns belonging to this stage are called in Tamil grammar *idukuripppeyar*,¹ symbol-names, names given to things as a mere mark, a symbol, for some reason not known. These words are the oldest words of any language. (2) A later conscious stage of word-making. Words belonging to this stage are compounds consciously invented by combining *idukuri* words of one's language into new combinations; thus, when the Tamils wanted a word for 'brick', which was used as a material for house-building only in a very late stage of South Indian history, that after contact with Sanskrit, they invented two compound words, (a) *suduman*,² burnt clay. (b) *śengal*,³ red stone. Of these, the first word did not appeal to the Tamil people and died an early death; the second has stuck on to the language. Similarly in our own days, we have invented compounds like *iruppuppādai*,⁴ the railroad, *minsāram*,⁵ electricity, etc. Such names are named by Tamil grammarians as *kāraṇappeyar*,⁶ casual names, because the reason why the names were given to the objects is evident.⁷ These two classes of names, *idukuripppeyar* and *kāraṇappeyar* are called in Sanskrit *Rūḍhi* and *Yoga*, original and derived. Or the speakers of a language when they borrow a thing from a foreign people, may borrow also its foreign name and may partially or totally remould it in accordance with the phonetic framework of the mother-tongue. Thus the Tamils of an earlier epoch borrowed the Sanskrit word *iṣṭikā*, brick, and turned into *iṣṭigai*,⁸ or *iṭṭigai*.⁹ Often they absorbed the foreign word as it was, e.g., *āṇavam laṁ*,¹⁰ *śaṣṭi*,¹¹ etc. The former are called by Sanskritists, *laddhava*, and the latter *tatsama*. We, too, nowadays, get both *laddhava* and *tatsama* words from English. Thus we speak of *te*¹² and also *teu*, of *maistri* and *master*, etc.

¹ இடுகுறிப்பெயர். ² சுடுமண். ³ செங்கல். ⁴ இருப்புப்பாதை. ⁵ மின்சாரம். ⁶ காரணப்பெயர்.

⁷ Some Tamil grammarians make a further distinction between *kāraṇappeyar* and *kāraṇa idukuripppeyar*; but this distinction does not affect the argument developed here and so need not be noticed. Others would regard verbs turned into names as *kāraṇappeyar*, e.g. *kal*, stone, from verb *kal*, to dig, etc., but this refinement, too, will not affect our argument, for the root is an *idukuri*.

⁸ இஷ்டிகை.

⁹ இட்டிகை.

¹⁰ ஆணவமலம்.

¹¹ ஷஷ்டி.

¹² தே.

Of these two kinds of words, *idukuripppeyar* and *kāraṇappeyar*, the first alone will serve the purpose of this enquiry. They alone come down from the far off ages when the Tamil language was born, when objects and actions were named unconsciously or semi-consciously.

Other words will not serve our purpose. Modern Tamil vocabulary includes words borrowed from English, French, Dutch, Portuguese, Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit and Prakrit. Of the loan-words from Sanskrit, some have been borrowed wantonly, i.e., when there are many Tamil words to express the ideas; this was partly due to Brāhmaṇas whose familiarity with Sanskrit made them import such words in their Tamil speech and writing. This extensive borrowing was also due to the necessities of rhyme and assonance, a great characteristic of Tamil poetry. Loan-words began to enter Tamil not before 1000 B.C. and cannot be of any use in investigating the life of the Tamils before they came into contact with other nationalities, except that words not wantonly borrowed may be used as negative evidence to show what the Tamils were not acquainted with before such borrowing. But the date of these borrowings cannot be fixed. So even this negative evidence is not of much use. Similarly what are called *kāraṇappeyar*, words deliberately invented to name things and express ideas for which there were no *idukuripppeyar*, cannot also serve our purpose, for such casual names can be invented at any stage of a language and cannot be proved to have existed or to have not existed at any particular period of time.

Hence *idukuri* names alone will be used in this enquiry. Such words in Tamil are practically root-words, without the wrappings of prefixes, augments, suffixes, etc., which disguise the root in Sanskrit words and make Sanskrit etymology so difficult and in some cases unconvincing. As these *idukuri* words are naked root-words they belong to the earliest stage of Tamil, the stage when the language was unconsciously forged by the stone-age man. Examples of such words are *maṇ*,¹ *pul*,² *un*,³ *pō*,⁴ *iṭ*,⁵ *nīr*,⁶ *mīn*,⁷ *vān*,⁸ *ā*,⁹ *kā*,¹⁰ etc. The stage of the invention of such simple root-words cannot occur more than once in the history of a language. First because it is a stage of unconscious development of a language; secondly, if roots could be invented at any stage of a language, there would be no necessity for loan-words and consciously invented compounds at all. When men after progressing beyond the earliest stage of a language found or made new things which required names, the native power of inventing roots having become exhausted, they semi-consciously extended the meanings of old words by the processes of metaphor and metonymy. Examples of words which belong to this stage are, *maṇai*,¹¹ shield, from *maṇai*, to hide, *pon*,¹² metal from *pol*,¹³ to shine, *sembu*,¹⁴ a pot from *sembu*, copper, itself from *se*,¹⁵ red. This may be treated as a second semi-conscious stage of the development of a language. These words are practically *idukuri* words, and will be utilized in this enquiry. A language becomes fully conscious only when it comes in contact with foreign languages; then it finds its soul, as it were, and becomes conscious of its structure; then alone it forges compound

¹maṇ. ²புல. ³அ. ⁴கு. ⁵இ. ⁶நீ. ⁷மி. ⁸வ. ⁹அ. ¹⁰ச.
 ¹¹மாணப. ¹²புரு. ¹³புரு. ¹⁴செம்பு. ¹⁵செ.

causal names like *parima*,¹ horse, the fast-going animal, *vaigalvaru-mīn*,² the morning star, words which will not serve the purpose of this investigation.

One more preliminary question has to be dealt with. With regard to most words now belonging to Tamil, the separation of pure Tamil words from those borrowed from Sanskrit is very easy. But most Sanskrit scholars assume that every Tamil word which looks like a Sanskrit one must have been borrowed from Sanskrit by the Tamils. When the speakers of two different languages come in touch with each other, the probabilities are that each language will borrow words from the other. Thus the names of articles produced only in South India, such as pearls, pepper, cardamoms, must certainly have been borrowed by Sanskrit from Tamil. Hence Sanskrit *maricha*, *muktā*, *ela*, are derived from Tamil *miriyal*³ or *miḷagu*,⁴ *muttu*,⁵ *ēlam*;⁶ there are other Sanskrit words borrowed from Tamil wantonly which Sanskrit scholars wrongly claim to belong to Sanskrit, e.g., *niram*, *mīnam*, evidently derived from Tamil *nīr*,⁷ *mīn*,⁸ for we cannot imagine that the Tamils were drinking water and eating fish for ages without names for these objects and deferred naming them till Sanskrit speakers presented them with names for them. Many such words can be rescued for Tamil from the hands of Sanskrit scholars, but in this enquiry for the purpose of disarming criticism, words which might be legitimately claimed to be Tamil, though they look like corresponding Sanskrit words, have not been much pressed into service.

Even after giving the benefit of the doubt to Sanskrit, it will be found that there is in Tamil a strikingly large variety of names for objects and actions. The wealth of synonyms for names of familiar objects will be found to be enormous as this investigation progresses. It looks as if when man began to invent words, he was in a state of childhood and as a child revels in the use of toys and is never tired of playing with them, primitive man used the power of inventing words as his great toy and invented a number of names for the same thing. Love of certain objects familiar to them may perhaps have been another motive for this multiplication of *iḍukkuṭi* synonyms: but whatever it was, it is of use in this our enquiry into the conditions of life of the ancient Tamils.

EVIDENCE OF LITERATURE

The third source of information for this study is early Tamil literature. The age to which this literature belongs has been the occasion for much dispute. The controversy has centred round a statement made at first by the commentator on *Irāiyānāragapporuḷ*⁹ and repeated by later commentators. It is to the effect that there were three epochs of ancient Tamil Literature, each marked by the existence of a *Sanḡam*,¹⁰ academy of its own, presided over, each by the members of a particular dynasty of Pāṇḍya kings, whose capitals were respectively *Madurai*, swallowed long ago by the sea, *Kabāḍa-puram*¹¹ and *North Madurai*, i.e., the present city of that name.

¹பரிமா. ²வைகல்வருமீன்.

³மிரியல்.

⁴மிளகு. ⁵முத்து.

⁶ஏலம்.

⁷நீர். ⁸மீன்.

⁹இழைப்பொருள்பெருஞ்.

¹⁰சங்கம்.

¹¹காபாடபுரம்.

This tradition says that the first *Ṣaṅgam* lived for 4,440 years, the second, for 3,700 years, and the third for 1,850 years. Much importance cannot be assigned to these precise figures, because early South Indian history does not reveal the existence of any particular era for the calculation of the passage of time in years from the year one of that era. Even eras established outside the Tamil country, like the Śālivāhana era, were adopted in South India not more than six hundred years ago. Dated lists of early Tamil kings do not, and cannot, on account of the want of an era, exist. The kings of these three dynasties are said to have been respectively 89, 59 and 49; this would give these Pāṇḍyas lengths of reign which no student of history can accept. The average length of the reigns of kings of dynasties which have lasted long, can range between twenty and thirty, but cannot mount up to fifty or sixty. Hence the alleged durations of the *Ṣaṅgams* are impossibly long and are also incapable of being checked by means of other sources of information, and useless as evidence of age. Moreover the commentator on *Ṭṟaiyaṇṉṟagapporuḷ* who is our first informant about the three *Ṣaṅgams* is said to be Nakkīrar.¹ But the commentaries themselves name a series of ten scholars, beginning from Nakkīrar, each the pupil of his predecessor. The last of them, Muṣiriyāṣiriyar Nilagāṇḍanār,² must therefore be the author of the commentaries as we now have them, though they may be claimed to possess a few sentences coming down from Nakkīrar's time. Moreover these commentaries embody a poem of 329 stanzas, whose hero is a Pāṇḍya king, Parāṅguṣaṇ Śaḍayan Māraṇ Arikeṣari,³ who flourished about A.D. 750. Thus the earliest record about the chronology of the *Ṣaṅgams* is found in a book composed in the latter half of the eighth century and cannot have much evidential value, specially as there was a total absence of contemporary chronological records before that age. Let us turn now to the internal evidence of early Tamil poems. One of these decidedly claims to belong to pre-Christian times. This is an ode of twenty-four irregular lines⁴ sung by Muraṇḱiyūr Muḍināgarāyar,⁵ a poet of the first *Ṣaṅgam* of tradition, in honour of Sēramāṇ Peruṇjōṟṟu Uḍiyan Sēraḷ Adan,⁶ a Sēra king, and attributing to him the honour of feeding the armies of both sides in the Bhārata battle. Almost all modern enquirers agree that the middle of the first millennium B.C. was the epoch of the great war between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas. There is no reason, except prejudice, to discredit the chronological claim of this ode. Hence we may conclude that from the beginning of the second millennium B.C., if not earlier, the kings of the three early Tamil royal houses, the Sēra, the Śōḷa and the Pāṇḍya, as well as several petty chiefs of South India, patronized minstrels called Pāṇar,⁷ who, with the Vāl⁸ on their shoulders, wandered from court to court and sang beautiful odes on the adventures of kings and nobles in love and war, or, as they called it, on *Agam*⁹ and *Puṇam*.¹⁰ Many of these odes are now lost, because they were preserved only in the archives of human memory; but a great

¹ நக்கீரர். ² முசிரியாசிரியர் நிலாண்டனார். ³ பரங்குசுண் ஸடையன் மரபன் அரிகேசரி.

⁴ *Puṇamūḷu*, 2.

⁵ முரங்கியூர் முடினாசாரியர்.

⁶ சேரமான் பெருஞ்சேரநாட்டியன் சேரல் ஆதன். ⁷ பாணர்.

⁸ வால்.

⁹ அகம்.

¹⁰ புணம்.

number of them were collected in later times into anthologies called *Aganāṇṭu*,¹ *Puṇanāṇṭu*,² *Narṇinai*,³ *Kuṇḍogai*,⁴ etc. These poems, though their vocabulary shows a very slight admixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit words, due to the intercourse of South India with North India ever since the beginning of the Vedic Age, notwithstanding the rivalries between the fire cult of the latter with the fireless cults of the former, are yet entirely free from the influence of Sanskrit literature in the subject matter of poetry and in literary form. These poems undoubtedly reflect the conditions of life peculiar to the ages when they were composed. Unlike the artificial epics of post-Christian Sanskrit literature, these early Tamil poems, which it is now usual to call *śāṅgachcheyyul*,⁵ are a mirror of the ages when the poets lived. Catastrophic changes occur in the life of a nation only when there is a violent contact with foreign people of a different stage of culture. As no such event occurred in South India, it is certain that the life-conditions reflected in these old poems are at least partial echoes of those of the previous far off ages which we are now discussing. But at the same time it must be remembered that the evidence of this literature should be pressed into service very cautiously, when we are sure that the customs and manners referred to therein are not later developments but evidently come down from early times.

Besides these anthologies there exists the wonderful grammar called *Tolkappiyam*,⁶ one book of which, called *Poruḷadigaram*,⁷ is the grammar of ancient Tamil poetry. This book belongs to the period when Ārya influence had fully penetrated South India; it was composed by *Tṛṇadhūmāgni*, a Brāhmaṇa of the Kāppīya (Kāvya) clan, a branch of the Bhārgava Gotra, members of which began to migrate into South India under the leadership of Paraśurāma when he retired from North India after his quarrels with the sons of Arjuna Kārttavīrya (about 2500 B.C.). Tolkāppiyar studied pre-existing grammars written by several previous Tamil *Pulavar*⁸ (scholars), and then composed the *Tolkāppiyam*. But wherever possible he tries to impose the Ārya canon law on the Tamils and to equate Tamil customs, social and literary, to Ārya ones; yet his attempts to mix up Ārya and Tamil culture is not much of a success, for the two cultures, one based on the fire cult and the other on the fireless cult, one, the product of a religious aristocracy and the other, of a social democracy, could blend as little as oil and water.

Hence it is easy to separate the Tamil culture embodied in ancient Tamil poetry and in the *Poruḷadigaram* from the well-known Ārya culture of the Ārya law-books first imported into Tamil country by the early Brāhmaṇa settlers. From these several sources of information it is possible to construct a picture of the life which the Tamil people led from the later Stone Epoch onwards in the ages that may be called Pre-Aryan, of the life that they led and the culture they had evolved independently of any other people, till the large incursions of the Jainas, the Buddhas and the Brāhmaṇas in the first millennium before Christ caused the final blending of the Ārya culture and the

¹ அகநானூறு.
² புனகநானூறு.

³ புறநானூறு.
⁴ குறுந்தொகை.

⁵ ஸாங்கச்சேய்வு.
⁶ தொகைப்பியம்.

⁷ பொருடதிராரம்.
⁸ புலவர்.

Tamil culture and the present, mingled culture of South India started on its glorious evolution.

Combining these two sources of information, the pure Tamil *idukuri* words coming down from the early ages and the evidence of early Tamil literature, it is proposed to make further rents in the veil which time has woven round the life led by the Tamils five thousand years ago.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The ancient Tamil people noted that the surface of the habitable portions of the earth could be divided into five natural regions, which they called *Palai*¹ or sandy desert land, *Kurinjī*,² mountainous country, *Mullai*,³ forest tracts, *Marudam*,⁴ the lower river valley, fit for agricultural operations, and *Neydal*,⁵ the littoral region. They noticed that in each region was evolved a different kind of human culture. In *Palai* grew the nomad stage, in *Kurinjī*, the hunter stage, in *Mullai* the pastoral stage, in *Marudam* the agricultural stage, and in *Neydal*, the fishing and sailing stage, of human development. Not only were these different stages of human culture evolved in these different regions, but each stage continued to exist in its own region, after other stages grew in theirs. The men of these regions were respectively called *Maravar*,⁶ *Kuravar*,⁷ *Ayar*,⁸ *Ulavar*,⁹ and *Paradavar*.¹⁰ The recognition of the different kinds of life led by these five different classes of men is a wonderful anticipation, made several millenniums ago, of the very modern science of Anthropogeography. This science is the rival of Ethnology. The latter claims to be able to divide men into races with varying permanent physical and mental characteristics, flowing from microscopical bodies called chromosomes which pass from parent to offspring. Notwithstanding heroic efforts for a hundred years to calculate the cephalic index and the co-efficient of racial likeness, ethnologists have not been able to hit on any characteristic, unchangeable mark of race. Anthropogeography, on the other hand, holds that what are called racial characteristics are the result of the action of the environment within which a people grow, which is called the area of characterization of a race. It is remarkable the Tamils reached this idea in remote ages and defined the five natural regions, and classified races as five, each of whom followed professions suited to the region inhabited by them. Besides this horizontal classification, there was a vertical classification of the people of any one region into *Manmar*,¹¹ kings, *Vallal*,¹² petty chiefs, noblemen, *Vellalar*,¹³ owners of fields, *Vanigar*,¹⁴ merchants, all of whom were called *Uyarnāṉ*¹⁵ or *Mēlor*,¹⁶ the higher classes, and *Vinaivalar*,¹⁷ and *Aḍiyōr*,¹⁸ the working classes and personal servants.¹⁹ This second classification is solely based on the standing of people in society, and is one that has evolved everywhere in the world. On these two classifications, the Brāhmanas who carried the Arya cult into Southern India in the first millennium before the Christian era, imposed a third

¹பரல. ²குறிஞ்சி. ³முல்லை ⁴மருதம். ⁵செய்தல். ⁶மறவர். ⁷குறவர்.
⁸ஆயர். ⁹உழவர். ¹⁰பரதவர். ¹¹மன்னர். ¹²வள்ளல். ¹³வெள்ளநாள்.
¹⁴வணிகர். ¹⁵உயர்ந்தோர். ¹⁶மேலோர். ¹⁷வினைவலர். ¹⁸அடிபுகார்.

¹⁹Tolkāppiyam, *Poruḷadigraṁ*, i. 21-32.

one, the socio-religious division of the people into four Varnas. This division arose on account of the necessities of the Vedic fire-cult. This cult evolved into a vast system of rites which were celebrated during long periods of time, the Sattrā Yāgas occupying twelve to a hundred years, and required the growth of the Brāhmaṇa Varna, consisting of men who from childhood memorized the immense literature of the Vedas and subsidiary works, the Śruti and the Smṛti, and were trained in the correct performances of the complicated Arya rites and, being experts in the religio-magical ceremonies, acquired a high standing in society. Then there were the Kings of several grades, Chakravartī, Mahārāja, Rājā, who with their blood-relatives formed the Kshattriya Varna, and whose function it was to protect the people and the fire-rite from being oppressed by enemies. For the special benefit of the Kshattriyas, the more gorgeous fire-rites, such as Rājasūya, Abiṣheka, Vājapeya, Aśvamedha, etc., were evolved. The bulk of the people were the Vaiśyas (from *viś*, people) devoted to the ordinary pursuits of man—agriculture, trade and the tending of cattle. The Vaiśyas had the privilege of paying for and deriving the benefits accruing from the minor yāgas which the Brāhmaṇas performed on their behalf. The last Varna included the serving classes, called Śūdras. This fourfold classification is neither regional nor racial, neither social nor professional but one correlated entirely to the fire-rite. When the Brāhmaṇas settled in Southern India and the ancient Tamil Rajas desiring to secure the benefit of the Yāgas, accorded to the fire-priests a supreme position in society, the Brāhmaṇas naturally tried to introduce their socio-religious organization into Tamil society. But a religious oligarchy and a social democracy could not very well mix with each other. Hence the Brāhmaṇas did not succeed in arranging the people of Southern India as members of the four varṇas as they did in North India. The Rajas who actually ruled in the provinces of peninsular India were given the privileges of Kshattriyas with regard to the fire-rites—that of paying for them and deriving the invisible (*adīṣṭa* or *apūrva*) effects of the Yajña and were even admitted to the Bhāradvāja Gotra; but the scheme of four varṇas necessary to a people, every detail of whose daily life, from urination to cremation, was influenced by the fire-rite, could not well spread among the Tamils, whose life for many millenniums previously was mainly secular and based on social democracy and among whom the Arya fire-rite, as it had lost its vitality before the Brāhmaṇas migrated to Southern India, did not spread. It only led to the confusion of caste and the prevalence of social jealousies that have characterized the life of South India for a thousand five-hundred years; for, we learn from the *Tevāram*,¹ of Tirunāvukkaraṣu Nāyanār,² that there was in his day, as there is to-day, a consciousness of rivalry, if not jealousy, between the Brahmins and the non-Brahmins or, as they were then called, *Ariyan*,³ and *Tamiḷan*.⁴ The cause of this was

¹ தேவாரம்.

² திருநாவுக்கரசுநாயனார்.

³ ஆரியன்.

⁴ தமிழன்.

ஆரியன் கண்டாய் தமிழன் கண்டாய்.
Tirumaraikkāḍu Tiruttāṇḍagam, 5.

கெத்தமிழேடு ஆரியன் கிறியான்.
Tirunāvāḍudurai Tiruttāṇḍagam, 10.

ஆரியன் தமிழேடு டுணையானான்.
Tirukkāḍambandurai Tirukkurundogai, 3.

as follows: The Brāhmanas obtained in India north of the Vindhya, i.e., Āryāvartta, a premier position in society on account of their being the hereditary depository of secular and religious lore, and of being expert in priestly duties and in wielding the words of power (mantras) which almost coerced the gods to grant gifts to those who solicited them. But the Kshatriyas who were quite as learned as the Brāhmanas and besides, had the prestige of the royal varṇa, and the Vaiśyas, who were rich burghers and wielded much political influence, acted as a check on the expansion of the privileges of the Brāhmanas. In South India, however, the Brāhmanas added to the intellectual qualifications they already possessed—scholarship in Tamil literature and ability to compose Tamil poetry.¹ Moreover, there was no true Kshatriya or Vaiśya Varṇa in South India. Though according to the *Bhagavad Gītā*² agriculture, tending cattle and commerce were the legitimate occupations of the Vaiśyas, the Brāhmanas did not extend the Vaiśya status to the Tamils that pursued these avocations in the *Mullai* and *Marudam* regions and did not admit them to the benefits of the fire-rite, even of the domestic variety, which was open to the three higher varṇas. On the contrary they invented for them pseudo-fire-rites, usually called Purāṇoktam ceremonies, as opposed to Vedōktam rites. An example of this is the addition of circum-ambulating the fire, *Tivalaṇṇeydal*,³ to the ancient marriage ritual of the Tamils, to make it look like the genuine Ārya wedding-rite. At the same time the worship of Śiva and Viṣṇu in temples, which was evolved from pre-vedic forms of worship and is described in the Āgamas, whose vital characteristic is Bhakti, and not Jñāna such as the Vedānta Sūtras teach, spread in the Tamil land, because Bhakti which neglects the Varṇa classification appealed to the democratic instincts which got the upper hand after the decay of the fire-rite. Hence the Ārya classification of four varṇas never really spread in South India and Tolkāppiyar who laboured hard to equate the several classes of Tamil society to the varṇas of the Āryas carefully avoids the use of the word Śūdra as referring to any section of the Tamils. This brief sketch of the history of Ārya ideals in South India explains to a large extent the prevalence of the conflict of caste in the present time.

THE FIVE CLASSES : THEIR MODES OF LIFE AND RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

In my Stone Age in India has been given a very brief account of the life of the five classes of people in the five regions. A more extensive account will be given here. In the *Palai* lived the *Kaḷḷar*⁴ and the *Maṇavar*,⁵ nomad tribes of adventurous warriors; as the soil of the region where they dwelt was infertile and totally unproductive, they lived by preying upon the wealth accumulated by the dwellers of other regions. They sacrificed animals and, at times, men too, to the dreaded local god or goddess; these deities have been, in comparatively recent times, idealized and turned into aspects or subordinates

¹ As illustrations Kapilar, Paraṇar, and the Saint-child Tīrūjñāna Sambaṇḍa Nāyanār may be mentioned.

² *Bhagavad Gītā*, chapter xviii. 44. ³ தீவலாண்னேயல். ⁴ கலார். ⁵ மணவர்.

one, the socio-religious division of the people into four Varnas. This division arose on account of the necessities of the Vedic fire-cult. This cult evolved into a vast system of rites which were celebrated during long periods of time, the Sattrā Yāgas occupying twelve to a hundred years, and required the growth of the Brāhmaṇa Varna, consisting of men who from childhood memorized the immense literature of the Vedas and subsidiary works, the Śruti and the Smṛti, and were trained in the correct performances of the complicated Arya rites and, being experts in the religio-magical ceremonies, acquired a high standing in society. Then there were the Kings of several grades, Chakravartī, Mahārāja, Rājā, who with their blood-relatives formed the Kshattriya Varna, and whose function it was to protect the people and the fire-rite from being oppressed by enemies. For the special benefit of the Kshattriyas, the more gorgeous fire-rites, such as Rājasūya, Abiṣheka, Vājapeya, Aśvamedha, etc., were evolved. The bulk of the people were the Vaiśyas (from *viś*, people) devoted to the ordinary pursuits of man—agriculture, trade and the tending of cattle. The Vaiśyas had the privilege of paying for and deriving the benefits accruing from the minor yāgas which the Brāhmaṇas performed on their behalf. The last Varna included the serving classes, called Śūdras. This fourfold classification is neither regional nor racial, neither social nor professional but one correlated entirely to the fire-rite. When the Brāhmaṇas settled in Southern India and the ancient Tamil Rajas desiring to secure the benefit of the Yāgas, accorded to the fire-priests a supreme position in society, the Brāhmaṇas naturally tried to introduce their socio-religious organization into Tamil society. But a religious oligarchy and a social democracy could not very well mix with each other. Hence the Brāhmaṇas did not succeed in arranging the people of Southern India as members of the four varṇas as they did in North India. The Rajas who actually ruled in the provinces of peninsular India were given the privileges of Kshattriyas with regard to the fire-rites—that of paying for them and deriving the invisible (*adīṣṭa* or *apūrva*) effects of the Yajña and were even admitted to the Bhāradvāja Gotra; but the scheme of four varṇas necessary to a people, every detail of whose daily life, from urination to cremation, was influenced by the fire-rite, could not well spread among the Tamils, whose life for many millenniums previously was mainly secular and based on social democracy and among whom the Arya fire-rite, as it had lost its vitality before the Brāhmaṇas migrated to Southern India, did not spread. It only led to the confusion of caste and the prevalence of social jealousies that have characterized the life of South India for a thousand five-hundred years; for, we learn from the *Tevāram*,¹ of Tirunāvukkaraṣu Nāyanār,² that there was in his day, as there is to-day, a consciousness of rivalry, if not jealousy, between the Brahmins and the non-Brahmins or, as they were then called, *Ariyan*,³ and *Tamiḷan*.⁴ The cause of this was

¹ தேவாரம்.

² திருநாவுக்கரசுநாயனார்.

³ ஆரியன்.

⁴ தமிழன்.

ஆரியன் கண்டாய் தமிழன் கண்டாய்.

Tirumaraikkāḍu Tiruttāṇḍagam, 5.

கெத்தமிழேடு ஆரியன் கிறியான்.

Tirunāvāḍudurai Tiruttāṇḍagam, 10.

ஆரியன் தமிழேடு மனசுயனவன்.

Tirukkāḍambandurai Tirukkurundogai, 3.

warnings about the disasters that would overtake the villages for not having paid their dues to the goddess. In the mountainous country, called *Kurinjī* lived the *Kuravar*, famous in later literature as the heroes of romantic love at first sight; they led the semi-nomad life of the hunter; they hunted with the bow and the arrow and fought wild animals with the *Vel*.¹ They cut up and skinned the animals they hunted and wore the untanned hide as their dress. They were also brave warriors.

Their women in the earliest days were clad in nothing but the atmosphere around or in hides or in *Maravuri*,² tree-flay, or in leaf-garments, called in Tamil, *talai-udai*.³ Hence arose the custom of presenting a garment made of leaves and flowers to the bride as a symbol of marriage, as in Malabar to-day presenting a *Mundu*,⁴ short piece of cloth, to the bride is still the chief incident of the wedding-rite.⁵

These women wove baskets and made many other articles with the strips of the bamboo, occupations still followed by *Kuravar* throughout Southern India. Their favourite god was *Murugan*,⁶ the God of the Hills, who has throughout the ages remained essentially a god enshrined on hill-tops, notwithstanding later affiliations with post-Vedic mythology. As Lord of the Hills, the abode of serpents, he reveals himself even to-day to his devotees in the form of a serpent. The hill country being at all times the home of romantic love at first sight, he was, and continues to be to-day, the boy-lover, the *Seyon*,⁷

¹ வேல்.² மரவுரி³ தலைமூடை.⁴ முண்டி.

⁵ The following are a few of the references to the practice of the presentation of a leaf-garment, *talai-udai* in the early literature.

தீச்சுப் பெருங்குன்று கனாப்பூத்த குவளைக்
கம்பலிற் முழுசெறி புரவன அங்குல்.

Puram. 116.

The lap from which is dangling the leaf-garment made of the whole blossom of the water-lily which grows in deep springs of sweet water with its sepals open.

அழிப தாமே திறமென் னாம்ப
விளைப மாகத் தழைபா யினவே
இனியே பெருவனக் கொழுநன் மாய்க்கெ தனப் பொழுதறந்
தின்கு லைக ளுண்ணு
மல்லிப் படுகும் புல்லாயினவே.

Id. 248.

May it be blessed! the little, white water-lily, when I was young, served for a leaf-garment; now, when my excellent husband is dead, the hour of meals is changed, it provides me with my food during the melancholy mornings.

குன்றநாட்
னுடுக்குத் தழைநத தனனே யவைபா
முடுப்பின் யாடஞ் சதுமே கொடுப்பிற
கேளுடைக் கேடஞ் சதுமே.

Narppinai. 359.

The hill-chief gave me a leaf-garment; if I wear it, I am afraid I cannot satisfactorily answer the questions my mother will ask me about it; if I return it to him I am afraid it will cause him pain.

சாரந்

தழையணி மருங்குன் மகளிர். *Kurundogai.*

The hill-women who wear a leaf-garment at their waist.
The wearers of this garment can still be seen in the hill-regions.

⁶ முருகன்.

⁷ சேயோன்.

the ever-youthful. When in later ages asceticism came to be a much respected way of life, and ascetics resorted to hills for peaceful meditation, he also became the ascetic god. Coming down from ages when man had not yet invented clothes, he is in many of his manifestations a naked god. Worship of the gods was in ancient days inseparably associated with ritual dancing, as is still the case with primitive people all over the world; and the ancient worship of Murugan was the dance called *Veriyāḍal*¹ or *Vēlanāḍal*,² performed by his priest, who, like his god, was called, *Vēlan*,³ for both of them carried the weapon of the hill region, the *Vēl*, a spear, which in the stone age had a stone spear head and, on the discovery of iron, had a head made of that metal.⁴

The worship of Murugan included the offering of cooked rice and meat for the removal of ills caused by that god. 'O!' old *vēlan*, intoxicated with the spirit of Murugan! control the anger and help us. I beg one favour of you. If you offer along with many-coloured boiled rice the meat of a red sheep specially killed for the purpose, after marking her forehead (with its blood), will the god of the hill high as the sky who wears a garland eat the *baḷi* (and be pleased)?

In later times when religion in India developed noble concepts, attained giddy heights of supreme devotion and breathed the soul-satisfying atmosphere of philosophical insight, highly advanced associations

¹ வெறியாடல்.

முருகயர்க்கு வந்த முதுவாய் வேலன்
கிளவ லோம்புமதி வினவுத துடையேன்
பல்வே றறுவிறி சிலுவயிற் மடைபெரடு
கிரமறி கொன்றிவ னைருத னீவி
வணங்கின கொடுத்தி யாய் னைகிய
வின்றோய் மரமலைச் சிலம்ப
கொண்டர கவமு முண்ணுமேர பவியே.

² வேலாடல்.

³ வேலன்.

⁴ This is a brief description of *Veriyāḍal* is from *Madurukkāṇṇi*. ll. 611-617.

அருங்கடி வேலன் முருகொடு வண்டி
யரிக்க டின்னியக் கறக்ககோர் கிறத்தாக்
கார்மலர்க் குறிஞ்சி குழக் கடம்பின்
சீர்மிகு செடுவேட் பேணித் தழுஉப்பினே யூஉ.
மன்றுயதாறு கின்ற குரவை சேரிதொறு
முரையும் பாட்டு மரட்டும் விரைஇ
வேறவேற கம்பலை வெறிகொன்றி மயங்கி.

The terrible *Vēlan* proclaimed the might of Murugan and danced around the people; the sweet-sounding musical instruments sounded in unison; they wore the *Kāñji* (காஞ்சி) flower—*Lawsonia spinosa*—which blossoms in the rainy season, and fixing in their hearts the image of the *Vēl* (வேல்) the lord, who shines with the beautiful *Koḍambu* (கொட்டம்பு) flower—*Eugenia racemosa*—embraced one another and caught hold of one another's hands and danced the *Kuravai* (குரவை) dance on the open fields; all through the village they hymned his greatness, they sang songs in his honour, they danced many dances and the blending of these sounds caused confusion.

The *Vēlan* proclaiming the might of Murugan refers to an ancient ceremony. When a man is in distress he consults the priest of Murugan, who throws about the seeds of the *Kaḷaṅgu* (கலாங்கு) or *Kaḷarkoḍi* (கலர்கொடி) *Gulandina bonduce*, and from the lay of the seeds on a plate reads the occult cause of the man's trouble and prescribes the worship of Murugan as a remedy. This ceremony is technically called *Kaḷaṅgu*.

were woven round this and other gods, of very ancient times, but yet numerous relics of South Indian religious life of ten thousand years ago are inextricably bound up with the worship of these gods to-day and these indicate the simple, ancient concepts and beliefs and customs of the Tamils of those far off days.

In the wooded tracts called *Mullai*, lived the *Idaiyar*, the men of the middle region, that lies between the uplands and the plains below. They were also called *Ayar* and *Kōnār*,¹ literally cowboys. They led a merry pastoral life tending cattle and playing on the flute, *kuḷal*, made of the bamboo, or of the stem of the water-lily, or of the cassia fruit or of the creeper jasmine. Besides playing on the flute, they spent their ample leisure in love-making in the forests which afforded ample cover for their amatory proceedings. The god of the *mullai* region was *māyon*,² the dark-hued wonder-working *kannan*.³ Their old women sprinkled the paddy from a *nāḷi*,⁴ tubular corn-measure, along with sweet-smelling *mullai* flowers so that the bees swarmed round and sounded like the *yāl* and then bowed to their god.⁵ Accompanied by children and relatives the crows ate the white balls of cooked rice along with fried *karunai*,⁶ tuber which has dark eyes offered to the God.⁷

The worship of *māyon* was also associated with innumerable religious dances, which can be observed to-day in cowherd villages when the annual festival in honour of this deity is celebrated. These dances were called *kuḍam*⁸ or *māyonaḍal*.⁹ In Vedic times, Kṛṣṇa, the Sanskrit form of the name Kannan, was a god or as the Rig-veda called him a demon, opposed to Indra. In the Purāṇas, too, there are evidences of an ancient Kṛṣṇa cult opposed to the Indra-cult of the early Rishis.¹⁰ In still later times Kannan became Kṛṣṇa Paramātma, the fullest human manifestation (*Avatāra*) of Śvara to the Indian people and has everywhere extinguished the worship of Indra. The legends regarding the boyhood life of Kṛṣṇa have certainly come down from the ancient pastoral stage of human evolution, though not then localized in the forest of Brindāvanam. The bulk of cowherds to-day act out many of these legends and keep up the ancient pastoral dances of Kṛṣṇa worship, but are absolutely untouched by the grand philosophical ideas which have gathered round the personality of Kṛṣṇa. I therefore hold that that the ancient god of the pastoral tribes evolved into Kṛṣṇa and not that Kṛṣṇa of the *Bhagavad Gita* deteriorated into a pastoral god in recent times.

The current theory about Kṛṣṇa-worship is that the historical

¹கோனார்.

²மாயோன்.

³கண்ணன்.

⁴நாழி.

⁵யாழிதைச் சின்னவன் டாடப் பெருவெரடு

காழி கொண்ட நடுவீழ்முல்லை

யரும்பவிழ்மலரிதுகயக அர்த்தமுது

பெருமுது பெண்ணிழை.

Mullaippattu 8-11.

⁶கருளை.

⁷பிள்ளை தழிஇக் கொடு பவிர்குது

கருககக் கருளைச் செந்தொல்வன் கோர

குருடைப் பவி.

Nayirai 367.

⁸குடம்.

⁹மாயோனாடல்.

¹⁰This subject is fully discussed in my *Life in Ancient India*, pp. 131-2 and *Stone Age in India*, pp. 50-51.

person of that name, whose boyhood was spent in the pastoral country round Brindāvanam and who, later, as the king of D'ārakā, played a great part in the war of the Mahābhārata, was deified and after his death, the Kṛṣṇa cult spread throughout India. In opposition to this theory I hold that the cult of Kṛṣṇa, the boy-cowherd, comes down from the early pastoral stage of Indian life; it is impossible to believe that the later worship of Kṛṣṇa, associated with the study of his *Bhagavad Gītā*, then which no grander philosophic work has been published to the world, spread to only one caste of South India—the cowherd caste—and became a cult of primitive ritual song and dance. It is much more reasonable to conclude that the primitive song and dance and merry-making which is the Kṛṣṇa-worship of the cowherds is directly descended from the rites of very ancient pastoral times. The name *Kannan* is supposed to be derived from Prākṛit *Kan̥ha*, itself a degenerate form of Kṛṣṇa. This kind of etymology is opposed to the fundamental principles of linguistic science, for it makes the absurd assumption that the literary dialect of a language precedes the common spoken dialect, whereas the spoken dialect must have existed for thousands of years before the literary dialect was developed.

To proceed from *Mullai* to *Marudam*; in the lowermost reaches of the rivers lived the farmers, of whom there were two classes, (1) the *Vellālar*,¹ the controllers of the flood, who irrigated their fields when the rivers were in flood, and raised the rice-crop on damp rice-fields with the extraordinary patience and industry which only the Indian peasant is capable of; (2) the *Karālar*,² controllers of the rain, who looked up to the sky for watering their fields, who stored the rain water in tanks and ponds and dug wells and lifted the water by means of water-lifts of different kinds, *er̥ṇam*,³ *kabilai*,⁴ *piḷa*,⁵ *iḍa*,⁶ and raised the millets, the pulses and other legumes, which along with the rice of the river valleys and the milk and the milk products (tyre and butter-milk and ghi, *tayir*,⁷ *mōr*,⁸ and *ney*⁹) of the *Mullai* region, form, even according to the latest scientific teaching, a perfect food for man containing the muscle-building, heat-generating, and vitamine requisites of a perfect dietary. The *Vellālar* lived in the *Marudam* region, the river-valleys and just outside it lived the *Karālar*. Beyond these regions where foodstuffs were raised, existed the black cotton-soil developed from the detritus of trap-rock charged with decaying vegetation, and fit for retaining moisture for a long time, and hence suited for the growth of cotton. Here cotton was raised and cotton cloth was woven; Indian people of the Stone Age possessed an abundance of cotton cloth, as weaving implements of stone testify, when the rest of the world was either sparsely clad in hides, or woven linen or wool, or revelled in primitive nakedness. Hundreds of finds of Neolithic tools required for these industries of the lower river valleys testify to their great development in these regions. These industries of the plains required the subsidiary one of woodwork. The people lived in wood-built houses; their granaries were made of wood; they used wooden carts, not different in build from the creaking ones now used for transport and numerous household utensils made of wood like tubs, mortars, pestles, etc.; and all the tools now used by the

¹ வெள்ளர். ² கரார். ³ ஏற்றம். ⁴ கபிலை. ⁵ பிழை. ⁶ இடை. ⁷ தயிர். ⁸ மூர். ⁹ நெய்.

village carpenter, but made of stone, as well as tools for stone-work, have been picked up from neolithic settlements. The chief god of the low country was the cloud-compelling lord of the atmosphere, who, as Indra, became also the chief recipient of the offerings made in the Vedic fire-sacrifices throughout North India; but in South India Indiran was the god only of the ploughland. Besides he was worshipped by the people with the fireless rites detested by the Āryas. Here 'he was the God residing in the land where, with toddy and garlands as offerings, the straight-horned and hanging eared goat is led to him'.¹ In Āryan India Indra was but the most prominent of the many gods worshipped by Brāhmaṇa priests, for their own benefit and the benefit of others, by means of fire-rites in sacrificial halls specially built for the purpose, Rājas and Vaiśyas having but the privilege of paying for the rites without officiating at them; but in South India Indiran was the sole god of the *Marudam* region and his worship was conducted without fire-rites and in it participated men of all castes and occupations, even men of the lower classes who would not be admitted even for menial service in *yajña śālās* and women of all ranks. Indra worship in South India was accompanied by merry-making and love-making of all kinds. Moreover the festival of Indiran was specially associated with lovers' quarrels and reconciliations, *uḍal*² and *kūḍal*³ and with special varieties of dancing. The modern Pongal feast is a relic of the harvest-festival associated with Indiran, as the name *bōgi paṇḍigai*,⁴ Indiran-feast shows,⁵ *bōgi* being a name of Indiran.

So great is the prejudice in favour of the North Indian origin of everything connected with religion that to claim the Indiran of *Marudam* as a Tamil God independent of the Indra of the Āryas is sure to raise as violent a burst of opposition as Indra's own burst of the thunder-cloud. To support the claim here made I offer the following considerations: (1) The people of the *marudam* regions of South India must have had an atmospheric god from about the end of the old Stone Age when they learnt to till the ground and sow seeds for raising foodstuffs, for their existence depended on such a god manifesting himself in the hot weather and striking the clouds with his thunderbolt so as to pour the life-giving rain on their thirsty fields. (2) To deny them an Indiran of their own would be to say that they had from time immemorial another god of the same functions till about 2,000 years ago, when they borrowed the name of the chief God of the Ārya fire-rite, and that, after that fire-rite had almost become extinguished in Āryāvartta and after Indra had been superseded in popular estimation by Siva, Viṣṇu, and Ambā. One is tempted to vary the joke about the author of the *Iliad*, that it was not composed by Homer but by another poet of the same name, and say that

¹ கஞ்சல் கண்ணியுதையுறைபரக்
நிலைக்கோட்டு ஓவ்விறை நரங்குசெவிக் கடராயுள்
நிலத்திறைந் கடவுள். *Agam*, 156.

² உடல்.

³ கூடல்.

⁴ போடிபண்டிகை.

⁵ The utter difference between Indra-worship in North India and the இந்திர மிழவு of South India can be realized by a study of canto v of *Silappadigāram* இந்திர மிழவு ரெடுத்த கரதை, which is too long to be quoted here.

the Stone Age Tamils did not worship Indiran but another God of the same name and the same functions. The theory becomes more absurd if, with European scholars, it is held that Indra the God *par excellence* of the monsoon area was at first the God of the non-monsoon tracts outside India, that he was then taken into Northern India by Aryan emigrants and lastly, after a few thousand years' stay there, he leisurely migrated to the *marudam* region of Tamil India, where he was being worshipped by the people for many thousand years, previously by some name unknown, which name was suddenly extirpated without a trace by the newly imported name. (3) The South Indian Indiran-cult was in every one of its details and practices utterly different from the Vedic Indra-cult as pointed out above. (4) If South India borrowed Indiran from the Āryas, there is no reason why he should have his jurisdiction suddenly contracted and why he should be confined to the *marudam* region and should not have extended to all regions as it did in India north of the Vindhya. On the contrary when the Arya concepts spread in South India along with the migration of Brāhmaṇas to the south of the Vindhya, the functions of the Aryan Indra were added on to the Indiran of the Tamils, who was thenceafter called *Vendan*,¹ King of the Gods. It is more reasonable to consider that the Indiran of the *marudam* became also the King of the Gods after the contact of the Tamils with the Āryas than that the extent of his empire was diminished by his invasion of South India. (5) If South India borrowed Indiran from North India, there is no conceivable reason why the ploughmen alone should borrow the God and not the people of other regions, such as *neydal* and *mullai*. (6) The South Indian worship of Indiran was not conducted by an expert caste as in North India. It is inconceivable that as soon as the Brāhmaṇas brought the Indra-cult to South India, they resigned their priestly functions with regard to this deity and his worship became a popular institution in which all castes and both sexes could take part. The Brāhmaṇa-rites and the old Tamil rites have not become mixed up though Brāhmaṇas have wielded supreme religious power in South India for 2,000 years, and though the two have co-existed for 2,000 years. Is it not then absurd to hold that at one moment in the past Indra-rites of North India became inextricably blended with Tamil rites. (7) The worship in each of the five regions consisted primarily in ritual dancing, peculiar to each region. This was accompanied by the singing of tunes, *paṇ*, special to each tract. There was also a special form of *yaj* for each natural region on which the tunes of that regions were played. In such worship all people, whatever their status, took part, whereas in northern India, even during the performance of royal *yajñas*, such as *Rajasūyam*, Kings could not enter the *yajña sala* except on one solitary occasion when they were temporarily invested with the rank of a Brāhmaṇa and allowed to make one *ahuti*, offering, in the fire nearest to the gate of the sacrificial hall. How the worship in which the Brāhmaṇa oligarchy alone could officiate could suddenly become a democratic institution it is impossible to conceive. (8) Convincing etymologies of the names of the Gods Krishna, Indra, and Varuṇa

from Sanskrit roots have not been found by scholars notwithstanding three thousand years of unexampled ingenuity. Hence there is no linguistic reason to claim that these names originally belonged to the Sanskrit language. (9) The possibility of North India borrowing names of objects and even of Gods from South India has not been investigated at all. There was plenty of intercourse between the people North and South of the Vindhya in the remote ages. Therefore there is nothing to disprove the notion that the same Gods were worshipped throughout India even before the fire-cult rose to great popularity five thousand years ago. Hence the most probable conclusion is that when the Rishis moulded the Vedic cult they utilized the pre-existing gods and adapted them to their philosophical concepts. Such is what has taken place all over the world in the evolution of religion. Moreover it is only in recent times that the idea rose that Sanskrit, being a perfect language, could not have borrowed names from any other language. The ancient thinkers had no such illusion. *Mīmāṃsā Sūtras* I. iii. 9, says, *choditam tu pratiyeta avirodhāt pramāṇena*. This implies that words borrowed from the *mlecchha* languages and used in the Veda ought to be understood in the sense they have in those *mlecchha* languages and not to be ascribed new meanings based on the *nirukta* or etymological speculations. Śābara gives as illustrations of such borrowing *tamara*, lotus, *pika*, cuckoo, both Tamil words. I offer the suggestion that many more words were borrowed by Sanskrit from Tamil. Not as a proved conclusion, but merely to challenge enquiry I suggest that the word, so essential to later Sanskrit philosophy, *Māyā*, was coined from a Tamil root-word.

Māyā is a word which occurs in the Vedic *mantras*; there it does not possess the meaning of *Mūlaprakṛiti*, chaotic matter, that which is not *sat*, nor *asat*. In the *mantras* it merely means the wonder-working power exhibited by Indra and other gods. Gradually *Māyā* came to be specially associated with Viṣṇu; in the *Bhagavad Gītā*, Kṛiṣṇa, the incarnate Viṣṇu, speaks of *mama māyā duratyaya*, 'my *Māyā* difficult to transcend.' So *Māyā* came to mean the power, the magic might wielded by the Supreme Viṣṇu in creating, and sustaining the universe and this is still the meaning of *Māyā* in Vaishnava tradition. In the Śaiva schools *Māyā* became the wife of Śiva, the mighty mother of the universe, being Īśvara's power embodied in manifested matter. In the Advaita schools, she became identified with *Prakṛiti*, matter, which is a reality to embodied beings and vanishes without leaving a trace behind before the vision of him who has seen the light of Ātmā. Hence Advaitis explain it by the jingle *yā mā sā māyā*, who is not, she is *māyā*; this ingenious and impossible derivation could have been invented only, after that incomparable philosopher, Śaṅkarāchārya, definitely and finally connected the word with that which exists as a phenomenon but does not exist as a noumenon. The older meaning of the word, from which this meaning has arisen, was wonder, astonishment, power of magic, cannot be derived from any Sanskrit root; but Tamil possesses a root that exactly suits the word and that is *māy*,¹ to be astonished, to vanish from sight. I am sure

that on a careful study conducted according to the fundamental principles of modern etymological science, many Sanskrit words will be found to be borrowed from those of the languages which prevailed in India in the early Iron Age. At any rate the idea that the gods who were worshipped before the rise to popularity of the Ārya cult were borrowed and ennobled and idealized by the Rishis is not quite so absurd as people imagine.

Now Indra has become extinct in the *marudam* region. Ever since the worship of Siva and Vishnu rose to mighty proportions from the sixth century A.D. onwards, under the inspiration of the singers of the Śaiva *Tevāram* and Vaishṇava *Pirabandam*, Indra disappeared. His place of popularity in the minds of the common people, especially of the river-valleys, has been usurped by a non-vedic God, who has no Tamil name but whose worship is most wide-spread in the Tamil country, viz., *Gaṇeśa* or *Viṣṇvakṣēna*, the generalissimo and the remover of difficulties. How this came about I cannot at all explain. I can only note in passing that while Indra was a constant rider on elephants, Gaṇeśa combines in his person human and elephantine features.

From *marudam* I shall now turn to *Neydal*, the littoral region. Here were evolved the occupations of fishing, salt-scraping, salt-manufacture, and the selling of salt, of fresh fish and salted fish; they made canoes, dug-outs and wicker work boats; the *Paradavar* men sailed on the sea, at first hugging the coast, and, later, boldly struck across the black sea, *Karuṅgaḍal*,¹ and reached far off countries where they exchanged the cotton cloth and timber of South India for scented gums, sugar and other products of foreign lands. Their God was Varuṇan, another deity also invoked in the Ārya rites; but the worship of Varuṇan by the *Valaiṇar*,² the men who plied the net, the lowest of the low, was of course very different from the fire-worship of the same deity. 'It is the new moon and the red-haired *Paradavar*³ men have not gone along to fish in the broad, black, cold sea; with their dark-skinned women clad in green-leaf garments, in the midst of their huts, which were built on the sea-beach whose sands smell of fish and which had low roofs on which were placed the long angling rods, on the sands of the front yard on which the nets were spread like a patch of darkness on a moon lit-floor, they planted the horn of the gravid sword-fish and invoked on it their God. They wore (round their neck) garlands made of the cool flowers of the white *Kūdaḷam*⁴ (a kind of *Solanum*), which grows at the foot of the *Tāḷai*⁵ (screw-pine), and (on their heads) the flowers of the *tāḷai*, which has long petals; they drank the toddy from the palmyra which has a rough skin, and also the liquor brewed from rice, and danced. In the noisy part of *Puḡār*,⁶ where appearing like a red cloud on a black hill, and like a (red-haired) child at the mother's (black) breast, the Kāviri mixes with the clear and dark waters of the ocean-wave, they bathed to get rid of their sins, and, then, bathed in the river to get rid of the salt on their skins; they hunted for crabs and played in the spreading waves; they made

¹ கருங்கடல்.

² வலைஞர்.

³ பரதவர்.

⁴ கூடாமை.

⁵ தாலை.

⁶ புகார்.

from Sanskrit roots have not been found by scholars notwithstanding three thousand years of unexampled ingenuity. Hence there is no linguistic reason to claim that these names originally belonged to the Sanskrit language. (9) The possibility of North India borrowing names of objects and even of Gods from South India has not been investigated at all. There was plenty of intercourse between the people North and South of the Vindhya in the remote ages. Therefore there is nothing to disprove the notion that the same Gods were worshipped throughout India even before the fire-cult rose to great popularity five thousand years ago. Hence the most probable conclusion is that when the Rishis moulded the Vedic cult they utilized the pre-existing gods and adapted them to their philosophical concepts. Such is what has taken place all over the world in the evolution of religion. Moreover it is only in recent times that the idea rose that Sanskrit, being a perfect language, could not have borrowed names from any other language. The ancient thinkers had no such illusion. *Mīmāṃsā Sūtras* I. iii. 9, says, *choditam tu pratiyeta avirodhāt pramāṇena*. This implies that words borrowed from the *mlechchha* languages and used in the Veda ought to be understood in the sense they have in those *mlechchha* languages and not to be ascribed new meanings based on the *nirukta* or etymological speculations. Śābara gives as illustrations of such borrowing *tamara*, lotus, *pika*, cuckoo, both Tamil words. I offer the suggestion that many more words were borrowed by Sanskrit from Tamil. Not as a proved conclusion, but merely to challenge enquiry I suggest that the word, so essential to later Sanskrit philosophy, *Māyā*, was coined from a Tamil root-word.

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for, where a small holding of a rice-field may well be cultivated by its owner and arable land may continue to be sub-divided into little plots for generations, pasture-land cannot thus be subdivided, for, grass-fields below a minimum size are unfit for pasturing a herd. Hence the joint-family system became a necessity. The patriarch of a tribe thus acquired great influence and became its king. Hence the word *Kō*, cowherd, came to be applied to a king when kingship evolved.

The house where the king resided was the *Kōttai*.¹ As the royal power increased, as the science of warfare developed, the royal residence, *Kōttai*, became a fort. The fort was surrounded by strong walls, *aran*;² hence the fort was called *aranmanai*;³ *aran*⁴ originally meant both beauty and defence, and hence came to be applied to the walls of a fortress, also called *madil*.⁵ These walls were made of mud, mixed with boiled ragi flour and were so strong and elastic that they could resist battering very much better than inelastic brick or stone walls. In the Tinnevely district there exists even to-day many a *madil* made after the ancient recipe, which are very difficult to pull down. The fort was surrounded by an *agal*,⁶ *agappa*,⁷ or *agali*,⁸ a moat, (from *ag*,⁹ to dig, whence the following Tamil words are derived, *Agam*¹⁰ home, inside, mind, the inner life, love, etc., *Agakkal*,¹¹ heart-wood, *agadu*,¹² inside, *agan*,¹³ interior, heart-wood, also a rice-field dug out of the soil, *agappu*,¹⁴ depth, *agalam*,¹⁵ breadth, *agal*,¹⁶ a bowl, *agavai*,¹⁷ internal quality, *agal*,¹⁸ to dig), *agappai*,¹⁹ a ladle scooped out. The *agal* was also called *udu*,²⁰ *odai*,²¹ *kayam*,²² *kēni*,²³ *parigam*,²⁴ *parigai*,²⁵ *purisai*,²⁶ and *pāmburi*,²⁷ (that which surrounds a fort as closely as the skin round a snake). The wealth of names for the moat shows that it was a very familiar object to the ancient Tamils. The entrance to the fort was called *Kōtti*²⁸ and the batter, i.e., receding slope from the ground upwards behind a wall, topped by a flat platform, *Kottalam*.²⁹ *Nāvil*³⁰ is the name of another part of a fortification: what it means is not known clearly. Within the royal residence there were many rooms, each called *ayai*,³¹ (from *ayu*,³² to cut off), a portion of the house walled off from other portions for special purposes. One of these rooms was the store-room, *Kōttayai*,³³ or *Kōttadi*,³⁴ (whence perhaps was derived the Sanskrit word *Koshṭa*). The state-room was the *Koluvayai*³⁵ or *Koluchāvadi*,³⁶ where the king sat in state on occasions of ceremonial. This was called *koluviruttal*,³⁷ or *Vīrviruttal*.³⁸ The *Koluchāvadi* was no doubt decorated with flags³⁹ (*koḍi*,⁴⁰ *tugil*,⁴¹ *logai*,⁴² *Satti*,⁴³ *kattigai*,⁴⁴ *kadali*,⁴⁵ on these occasions, as well as with flowers and bunting, flowers and leaves playing a large part in South Indian life as will be shown later. On such formal occasions, the king wore a crown. As the crown was called *muḍi*,⁴⁶ band, we may be sure that it was a band

¹கோட்டை. Another early word for a palace was *Kōvil*, (கோவில்) which, after the rise of the grand modern temples, became restricted to Gods' houses.

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|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|
| 2 அரண். | 3 அரண்மனை. | 4 அரண். | 5 மதிசு. | 6 அகல். | 7 அகப்பர. | 8 அகழி. |
| 9 அக. | 10 அகம். | 11 அகக்கரம். | 12 அகடு. | 13 அகணி. | 14 அகப்பு. | 15 அகலம். |
| 16 அகல். | 17 அகலவ. | 18 அகல். | 19 அகப்பை. | 20 உடு. | 21 ஓடை. | 22 கயம். |
| 23 கோணி. | 24 பரிசம். | 25 பரிசை. | 26 புரிசை. | 27 பரம்புரி. | 28 கோரட்டி. | 29 கோரத்தனம். |
| 30 குரவல். | 31 அறை. | 32 அர். | 33 கோரட்டை. | 34 கோரட்டி. | 35 கோரலகரை. | |
| 36 கோரலகரை. | 37 கோரலகரத்தல். | 38 விநிநுத்தல். | 39 கொடி. | 40 கொடி. | 41 கொடி. | 42 கொடி. |
| 43 கொடி. | 44 கொடி. | 45 கொடி. | 46 கொடி. | 47 கொடி. | 48 கொடி. | 49 கொடி. |
| 50 கொடி. | 51 கொடி. | 52 கொடி. | 53 கொடி. | 54 கொடி. | 55 கொடி. | 56 கொடி. |
| 57 கொடி. | 58 கொடி. | 59 கொடி. | 60 கொடி. | 61 கொடி. | 62 கொடி. | 63 கொடி. |
| 64 கொடி. | 65 கொடி. | 66 கொடி. | 67 கொடி. | 68 கொடி. | 69 கொடி. | 70 கொடி. |

from Sanskrit roots have not been found by scholars notwithstanding three thousand years of unexampled ingenuity. Hence there is no linguistic reason to claim that these names originally belonged to the Sanskrit language. (9) The possibility of North India borrowing names of objects and even of Gods from South India has not been investigated at all. There was plenty of intercourse between the people North and South of the Vindhya in the remote ages. Therefore there is nothing to disprove the notion that the same Gods were worshipped throughout India even before the fire-cult rose to great popularity five thousand years ago. Hence the most probable conclusion is that when the Rishis moulded the Vedic cult they utilized the pre-existing gods and adapted them to their philosophical concepts. Such is what has taken place all over the world in the evolution of religion. Moreover it is only in recent times that the idea rose that Sanskrit, being a perfect language, could not have borrowed names from any other language. The ancient thinkers had no such illusion. *Mīmāṃsā Sūtras* I. iii. 9, says, *choditam tu pratiyeta avirodhāt pramāṇena*. This implies that words borrowed from the *mlecchha* languages and used in the Veda ought to be understood in the sense they have in those *mlecchha* languages and not to be ascribed new meanings based on the *nirukta* or etymological speculations. Śābara gives as illustrations of such borrowing *tamara*, lotus, *pika*, cuckoo, both Tamil words. I offer the suggestion that many more words were borrowed by Sanskrit from Tamil. Not as a proved conclusion, but merely to challenge enquiry I suggest that the word, so essential to later Sanskrit philosophy, *Māyā*, was coined from a Tamil root-word.

Māyā is a word which occurs in the Vedic *mantras*; there it does not possess the meaning of *Mūlaprakṛiti*, chaotic matter, that which is not *sat*, nor *asat*. In the *mantras* it merely means the wonder-working power exhibited by Indra and other gods. Gradually *Māyā* came to be specially associated with Viṣṇu; in the *Bhagavad Gītā*, Kṛiṣṇa, the incarnate Viṣṇu, speaks of *mama māyā duratyayā*, 'my *Māyā* difficult to transcend.' So *Māyā* came to mean the power, the magic might wielded by the Supreme Viṣṇu in creating, and sustaining the universe and this is still the meaning of *Māyā* in Vaishnava tradition. In the Śaiva schools *Māyā* became the wife of Śiva, the mighty mother of the universe, being Īśvara's power embodied in manifested matter. In the Advaita schools, she became identified with *Prakṛiti*, matter, which is a reality to embodied beings and vanishes without leaving a trace behind before the vision of him who has seen the light of Ātmā. Hence Advaitis explain it by the jingle *yā mā sā māyā*, who is not, she is *māyā*; this ingenious and impossible derivation could have been invented only, after that incomparable philosopher, Śaṅkarāchārya, definitely and finally connected the word with that which exists as a phenomenon but does not exist as a noumenon. The older meaning of the word, from which this meaning has arisen, was wonder, astonishment, power of magic, cannot be derived from any Sanskrit root; but Tamil possesses a root that exactly suits the word and that is *māy*,¹ to be astonished, to vanish from sight. I am sure

about twenty¹ other names for this favourite animal, belonging to Tamil alone, besides several others for the male animal and several more for the female. The cars were decorated with flags and trappings, (*terchchilai*).²

The royal revenue, besides the proceeds from the royal lands, were derived from taxes (*vari*),³ tolls, (*sunḡam*,⁴ *ulḡu*,⁵ *irai*),⁶ and tributes (*kappam*,⁷ *pariṣu*,⁸ *tirai*).⁹

LOVE

The chief royal occupations or amusements (for in the case of kings, it is difficult to distinguish amusements from occupations) were love and war, both of which formed the subject of innumerable odes sung by the early bards. Love and war were respectively called *agam*¹⁰ and *puṇam*,¹¹ the inner life which one cannot share with other men and the outer life of action which other men can appreciate and admire. The love of kings and other men was of two kinds. (1) Love at first sight, so impetuous as to lead to immediate consummation, called *kalavu*,¹² to be leisurely legitimized by a formal marriage, (*maṇam*,¹³ *maṇai*,¹⁴ *varaivu*,¹⁵ *veṭṭal*)¹⁶. (2) Post-nuptial love, called *kaṇṇu*.¹⁷ The course of love, pre-nuptial or post-nuptial, furnished the bards with innumerable incidents fit for poetic treatment and this is the subject of three chapters of the grammar of poetry, called *Poruḷadigāram*,¹⁸ of *Tolkappiyam*, viz., *Agattinaiyiyal*,¹⁹ (referring to both),²⁰ *Kalaviyal*,²¹ *Kaṇṇiyal*.²² The chief incidents of the course of both forms of love, viz., the first catastrophic meeting of the lovers called *iyaṅkaippuṇarchchi*,²³ their waiting in expectation of meeting each other, *iruttal*,²⁴ lamentations for temporary separation *irangal*,²⁵ brief and long quarrels and reconciliations, *pulavi*,²⁶ *uḍal*,²⁷ and *kūḍal*,²⁸ and the parting of lovers, *piridal*,²⁹ were respectively correlated to the five natural regions, *Kuṛiṇji*, *Mullai*, *Neydal*, *Marudam* and *Palai*. The fact that Tamil literary conventions arose absolutely independent of the literary conventions of the Vedic and other early Sanskrit literature, shows that the correlations of the incidents of love with natural regions, peculiar to Tamil poetry, were based on actual customs which prevailed among the Tamil people in the third millennium B.C., and earlier. We can understand how these customs, i.e., social conventions, on which the literary conventions were based, first arose. The romantic scenery of Kuṛiṇji land is the greatest stimulus of love and the opportunities it affords for immediate consummation fans the flame of impetuosity which is the special characteristic of Kuṛiṇji love. Pre-nuptial love must have been the norm in the mountainous region, and the life of the hunter. In the Mullai region, the herdsman-lover had to be separated all day long from the mistress of his heart and hence the waiting of lovers for each other was associated with this region. In the Neydal, the woman has to sit desolate for days together, when her lover has gone on a voyage attended with risks to

¹Such as அறகு, ஆம்பல், இம்மடி, உம்பல், உவர, எறம்பு, ஒருதீதல், துக்கல், கடிவை, கள்வன், கறையடி, கைப்புவி, கைமலை, கைம்மா, கோட்டெம், கண்டாலி, குகை, திண்டி, தும்பி, துக்கல், தென்வி, கோல், கால்வாய், தூழல், பகடு, புக்கமுக்கம், புழக்கை, பூக்கை, பெருமர், பொர்க்கை, மருண்மர், மறல், மெய், அயமர், அல்லிலக்கு, வருகை, வேழம். ²தேச்சிலை. ³வரி. ⁴சுங்கம். ⁵உலகு. ⁶இரை. ⁷கப்பம். ⁸பரிசு. ⁹திரை. ¹⁰அகம். ¹¹புறம். ¹²கலவு. ¹³மாணம். ¹⁴மாணல். ¹⁵வரவி. ¹⁶வேட்டல். ¹⁷கணு. ¹⁸பொருளதிகாரம். ¹⁹அகத்தினையியல். ²⁰புறத்தினையியல். ²¹கலவியல். ²²கணவியல். ²³இயற்கைப்புகழ்ச்சி. ²⁴இருத்தல். ²⁵இரங்கல். ²⁶புலவி. ²⁷ஊடல். ²⁸கூடல். ²⁹பிரிதல்.

far off lands, and hence Neydal symbolizes the lamentations of lovers. So Pālai, the desert region, where the lovers have necessarily to part company, aptly symbolizes the separation of lovers. In Marudam, people led a settled agricultural and industrial life and they could enjoy longer periods of lazy leisure than the people of other regions. Hence the formal Tamil marriage-rite was evolved in Marudam.

MARRIAGE

The ancient wedding-rite is described in the following two odes from *Agam*. 'There was a huge heap of rice cooked with pulse (even after many guests were fed). On the floor of a pandal built on long rows of wooden columns was spread freshly brought sand. House-lamps were lighted. Flower-garlands were hanging. It was the morning of the day of the bright bent (crescent) moon, when the stars shed no evil influence. Then women bearing pots on the head, others carrying new broad begging bowls handed them over one after another, fair elderly dames making much noise the while. Then four women, mothers of sons, with their pudenda marked with natural beauty-spots, wearing beautiful ornaments, poured water on the bride, so that her black hair shone bright with cool petals of flowers and rice-grains (which had been mixed with the water) and at the same time blessed her, saying, 'Do not swerve from the path of chastity, be serviceable in various ways to your husband who loves you'. On the night of the day after that of the celebration of the marriage, the neighbouring ladies assembled and said to the bride, 'Become the mistress of a great house', and she went in trepidation to the bed-room dressed in new clothes.'¹

'Having boiled the rice free from all impurities and mixed *ghi* with it, they served it to the elders. The auspicious birds flew in the bright, beautiful, broad sky. The asterism Rohini was in conjunction with the moon. They decorated the house which was free from dirt, and worshipped God. The big drum sounded, the marriage-volley was beaten. The women who desired to witness the marriage assembled in haste. The flower-eyed goddesses witnessed the marriage and disappeared. They strung on white thread the double leaf of the *agatti* which has soft flowers, many blades of the *ayugai*-grass which

¹ உழுத்துலைப் பெய்த கொழுக்கலி மிதலை
பெருஞ்சோற் றமலை நிறப் பிணைகாற்
றண்பெருங் பக்தர்த் தருமணன் றுடியிரி
மனைவினக் குடுத்து மாலு நொடிக்
கணையிடு ளகன்ற கவின்பெறு காலிக்
கோங்கா னீங்கிய கொடுமென் டிகடட்
கேடிக் விழுப்புதற் காலுல வந்தென
வுகிக் குடத்தர்த் புத்தகன் மண்டையர்
பொதுசெய் கம்பலு முதுசெய் பெண்டிர்
முன்னவும் பின்னவு முறைமுறை தரத்தரப்
புதல்வற் பப்பத நிதலையல் வயிறு
வாலிமை மகனா கால்வர் கடிக்
தற்பினிள் வழவு தற்பல வுதலிப்
பெற்றோற் பெட்கும் பிணையை யாகன
கீரோடு சொரிந்த விரித முலரி
பல்லிருக் கதப்பி னெல்லொடு தயங்க
வதுவை சண்மணக் கழிந்த பின்மைக்
கல்லென் சம்மையத் தோரோனப் புருந்தத்
பேரிற் றெழத்தி யாகனெத் தம்தர
வோரிற் கடைய வுடன்புணர் கக்குற்
கொடுப்புறம் வுணடுக் கோடிக் கலிங்கத்
தொடுக்கினர்.

the calf eats, and the young flowers of the blue water-lily which are like clean gems when the sounding rain-drops fall from the sky and adorned the bride with these garlands. Underneath a pandal strewn with sand which was cool as if rain had fallen on it, the relatives of the bride gave her away.¹ In the ancient marriage-rite there was no circum-ambulation of fire, *tivalam seydal*,² which Brāhmaṇa purohitas of later ages invented in imitation of the wedding-rite of the higher varnas and introduced into the marriage-ritual of the Tamils.

In the agricultural region, there also arose *kūttiyaṛ*³ and *viṇaiyaṛ*,⁴ dancing-women and singing women, who were ladies of easy virtue and lived the life of *hetairae*, the *parattaiyaṛ*,⁵ who brought to a premature end the course of wedded love. Hence *ūdai* and *kūdal*, estrangement and reunion between husband and wife, was correlated to Marudam.

Besides these five incidents of normal love, there also existed, among the ancient Tamils, two forms of abnormal love, viz., *Kaikkilai*,⁶ love of a man for an immature girl incapable of feeling the gentle passion, and *Perundiṇai*,⁷ love of a man for a woman who does not reciprocate his love; in such a case, the man maddened with passion, made a horse of the sharp-edged stem of the palmyra, provided it with wheels and rode through the streets, bleeding, till the lady relented, or committed suicide if she did not, a proceeding technically called *Maḍalērudal*⁸; these are also described in many odes.

They make, of the stem of a palmyra leaf, a horse which does not require fodder, and attach to it reins adorned with small bells; the hero, wearing a garland of the short flowers of the *erukku*,⁹ *calotropis gigantea*, mounts it. We drag the horse along the streets and boys gather behind and follow the procession.¹⁰

Wearing a garland in which the fresh flowers of the *avirai*,¹¹ *cassia auriculata*, which resemble gold in colour, are strung on many threads,

ஹைப்பறப் புழுக்கி செய்தகனி வெண்ணேர
வரைபர வண்ணமயொடு புரையேர்ப்பு பேணிப்
புள்ளுப் புணர்ச்சிதனிவ வரகத் தென்னொளி
பங்க ளிருவிசம்பு விளங்கத் திங்கட்
சகடம் வேண்டிய தகடம் கூட்டத்துக்
கடிசைப் புணர்து கடவுட பேணிப்
படுமண முழுவொடு பருகப்பிண யிழி
வதுவை மண்ணிய மகனிச் சிறப்பற்றப்
பூக்களு மிணையர் கோக்குபு மறைய
மென்பு வரகைப் புன்புறக் கவடபூ
பழங்கன்ற கறிகுறப் பயம்பம வறகைத்
தழங்குரால் வானின் நலம்பெயர் தீன்ற
மண்ணுமணி யன்ன மாயிதழ்ப் பரகைத்
தண்ணற முகையொடு வெண்ணுக் கூட்டித்
துவடைப் பெரவித்து மேவரத் துவன்றி
மறைபட்டன்ன மணல்மலி பந்த
ரிழைபணி நெற்பிற பெயர்வியர்ப் பார்தித்
தமர்சமக் கேட தலைசார்.

மாறாது பாப்பாண் மறைவழி காட்டிடத்
தீவலுத் செய்வது.

Agam 136.

Silappadigāraṇ i.

¹கூத்தியர். ²விநயிர். ³பாத்தையர். ⁴கைக்கிலை. ⁵பெருத்திணை. ⁶மடலேறுதல். ⁷எரு

⁸சிறுமணி தொடர்ந்து பொருக்கச்சு நிறிஞ்சு
குறுமுடி மெருக்கச் சண்ணி ஆடி
புண்ணு சன்மரப் பண்ணி யெம்முடன்
மதுகுடன் நிரிதகுத் திருகுற மரக்கர்

Naṇṇai 220.

⁹ஆவிரை.

he rides the horse made of (the stem of the leaf of) the palmyra, shame torturing his mind.'¹

'Should I one day wearing a garland of gems on my breast and decorated with bones, go along the streets, without shame and ridiculed by others?'²

These seven *tinai*s constitute the *Agattinai*, the class of poems celebrating love.

WAR

The other subject of ancient poetry was war. The wars of ancient Tamil kings were not inspired by earth-hunger, for we find, throughout the ages, the boundaries of the Śera, Śōla, and Pāṇḍya kingdoms were intact. Wars were undertaken either as affording exercise for the development of martial virtues or for the purpose of achieving, by personal prowess, supremacy in rank and the title of the liege lord of the Tamil country and for the privilege of wearing the triple crown, *Mummudi*.³ Wars were undertaken in the season which followed the harvest, when the king and the subjects had no more agricultural work to do before the next rainfall. Warlike operations were divided into five, namely, *veṭchi*,⁴ *vañji*,⁵ *uṭṭinai*,⁶ *tumbai*,⁷ *vāgai*,⁸ respectively corresponding to *kuṛinji*, *mullai*, *marudam*, *neydal* and *palai*. It will be noticed that all these ten are the names of flowers and each flower symbolizes the incident which is named after it. Each of these incidents, called *tinai*,⁹ subdivided into *turai*,¹⁰ were celebrated by people wearing garlands of flowers appropriate to it. Thus we find that the Tamils noted and named hundreds of flowers and dedicated each of them with their leaves and twigs to some separate life-situation, which they celebrated by decorating their persons with garlands of those leaves and flowers, by singing measures and dancing dances specially appropriate to each of them. The passion the Tamils had for wearing garlands, symbolic or otherwise, is further indicated by the fact that there are several words meaning garland, *kanni*,¹¹ *tār*,¹² *toḍaiyal*,¹³ *alaṅgal*,¹⁴ *kodai*,¹⁵ *teriyal*.¹⁶ This ancient love of flowers is

பொன்னே ராலிவை புதுமலர் மிகைத்த
பன்னூன் மாலைப் பனைபடு கவிமர்
பூண்மணி சுந்தர வேறி காணடப்
பழிபட ருண்ணும் கழிவழி நிற்ப்ப
Kuṇḍogai 173.

விழுத்தலைப் பெண்ணை விசைபன் மாமடன்
மணியணி பெருந்தார் மார்பிற் பூட்டி.
வெள்ளைப் பணித்துழிற் சென்றத் தேன்றி
யொருகாண் மருகிற் பெருகாண்கித்
தெருவியலவுக் தருவது செங்கலேர்?
ib. 182.

³மும்முடி. ⁴வெட்டி. ⁵வஞ்சி. ⁶துவழிமை. ⁷தும்பை. ⁸வாகை. ⁹திணை.
¹⁰தரை. ¹¹தண்ணி. ¹²தார். ¹³தொடையல். ¹⁴அலங்கல். ¹⁵தொடை. ¹⁶தேரீயல்.
There are sixteen other names for garlands, which shows what great love the Tamils have for personal decoration with flowers. This is further indicated by the fact that garlands had differentiated names; thus, a garland for the face was *ilambagan*,¹ *śūṭṭu*,² for the hair-knot, *karōḍigai*,³; a garland where the flowers were tied together, *śigōḷigai*,⁴ *toḍaiyal*,⁵ *mūlai*,⁶ *vāṣṣigai*,⁷ a plaited garland, *piṇṇaiyal*,⁸; a strung garland, *kōvai*,⁹ *paḍalai*,¹⁰ *vāṣṣigai*.¹¹

¹இலம்பகம். ²சூட்டு. ³கரோடிமை. ⁴சிசிறிமை. ⁵தொடையல். ⁶மூலை. ⁷வாசிகை.
⁸பிணையல். ⁹கோவை. ¹⁰படலை. ¹¹வாசிகை.

being slowly choked out, especially in towns, by the pressure of the drab civilization of Europe, which is robbing us of many simple joys coming down from ancient times, when the love of flowers was so strong as to lead the Tamils to adopt flowers and leaves even as the distinctive uniforms of soldiers. In the battle-fields, the soldiers of each of the three great Tamil dynasties of kings could be distinguished from each other only by the garlands they wore. Thus the Pāṇḍya soldiers were decorated with the leaves and flowers of the *Vēmbu*,¹ Margosa, the Śōla soldiers, with those of the *Alti*² or *Ar*,³ *Bauhinia racemosa*, and the Śera soldiers, of the *Panai*,⁴ the palmyra. The early literature, and especially the *Tolkāppiyam*, contains frequent references to the symbolic use of leaves and flowers, and these prove that the ancient Tamils led a happy life of constant merry-making unoppressed by a too pessimistic view of the world and of man's destiny and that they were inspired by a love of nature superior in strength to that of other peoples, ancient or modern.

Of the five subdivisions of *Puṇam*, *Veṭchi*, the first, refers to the preliminary lifting of the enemy's cattle, and confining them in a pen in one's own country, which was the ancient method of the declaration of war. This proves that kingship, like formal war, began in the pastoral stage of life. As large herds of cattle are kept in the hilly region, *Veṭchi*, corresponds to *Kuṇinji*. *Vañji* corresponds to *Mullai*; it deals with the expedition into the enemy's country, which has necessarily to pass through the wooded country surrounding the lower river valleys, where forts were built for storing in safety the accumulated agricultural and metallic wealth.

Uṭinai has for its subject the siege of the forts, and especially the capital, of the enemy king, situated in the heart of the *Marudam* region. *Tumbai* refers to the fierce fighting which succeeds the mastery of the fort-walls, and *Vagai*, the final victory. As *Agattinai* has on the whole seven subdivisions, so two more have been added to *Puṇattinai*, viz., *Kañji*,⁵ which generally deals with the transitoriness of earthly pleasures in general and the vanity of military glory in particular, the first touch of asceticism which was destined to overwhelm Indian life from the middle of the first millenium before Christ, and *Paḍam*,⁶ the last of the *Puṇattinai*, which contains poems praising the munificence of kings and nobles towards the poets who sought their patronage.

As it was love of display of prowess and of glory that drove the ancient Tamils to war, there is no doubt that fighting was an annual institution, undertaken in the season between the gathering of the harvest and the starting of the tillage for the next year. War was called *por*,⁷ *ṣaṇḍai*,⁸ *ṣeru*,⁹ *muran*,¹⁰ *tevvu*,¹¹ and by about twenty other words.¹² This wealth of words meaning war indicates that it was a favourite amusement with the ancient Tamils, amusement because the object of ancient war, like that of wrestling, *marpor*,¹³ which was thus a variety of *por*, was not for satisfying the lust for bloodshed, but for proving strength and skill. The field of battle was called *kalam*,¹⁴

¹வேம்பு. ²ஆந்தி. ³ஆர். ⁴பனை. ⁵காஞ்சி. ⁶பாடலம். ⁷போர். ⁸சண்டை. ⁹செரு. ¹⁰முரன். ¹¹தெவ்வு. ¹²அமர், ஆர்ப்பு, இசை, உறம்பு, சண்டையம், சதனம், சலி, குரம்பு, கூட்டம், சமர், குரட்பு; தரக்கு, திறல், தும்மை, நிகம், நிகர்ப்பு, பண்டனம், மலர்ப்பு, மலைவு, ரல், முயல், பெயல், விற்ப்பு, வினை. ¹³மற்போர். ¹⁴சனம்.

kalari,¹ *paṇḍalai*,² *mudunilam*;³ these words also indicate waste uncultivated land³, on which contests of all kinds took place and show that war did not imply the ruination of crop-bearing land. The army, *paḍai*,⁴ *tānai*,⁵ was divided into various groups, *ayi*,⁶ *undai*,⁷ *oṭṭu*;⁸ the front ranks were *akkam*,⁹ *koḍippaḍai*,¹⁰ *iār*,¹¹ *tuṣi*,¹² *nirai*,¹³ and the back ranks, *kūlai*.¹⁴ This shows that military science was not unknown to the Tamils.¹⁵ In later times the army was divided into four sections, chariot-warriors, elephant-warriors, horse-warriors, and foot-soldiers. Of these all but the horse-arm came down from ancient times. South India was not the home of the horse and has always imported horses from the valley of the Sindhu, from Persia and other countries. But there is no doubt that the elephant was used from early times both for royal ostentation and military purposes. 'The warrior sits on an elephant, which looked like the god of death (*maṇali*). He has a broad and high breast, covered with a coat made of the tiger's skin, which the volley of arrows cannot pierce. The elephant resembles the ship that passes on the sea, the moon which moves among the stars; it is surrounded by armed *maṭavar* like sharks, and is so excited as not to recognize its mahout.'¹⁶ The elephants were skilfully trained and carefully looked after by the *pāgan*,¹⁷ tied to posts, *kandu*,¹⁸ *tari*,¹⁹ in the *alai*,²⁰ elephant-house, and fed with palmyrah trunks, rice and jaggery; they were bathed in tanks or rivers, their face painted with vermilion and decorated and armoured with face-plates, *oḍai*,²¹ *suli*.²² Chariots heavily decorated with wood-carving, in the profusion of which Indians revelled, and brilliantly coloured, *ṣayam toytta*,²³ trapings in various patterns and elephant warriors and foot-soldiers decked with garlands of the leaves and flowers which were the badge of each royal house, formed the serried ranks assembled on the battlefield. Of the implements of war, some came down unaltered from the Stone Age, such as the club, *taḍi*,²⁴ *eyul*,²⁵ *tanḍu*,²⁶ the shorter one being *kenil*,²⁷ the bow, *vil*,²⁸ *kokkarai*,²⁹ *silui*,³⁰ *tadi*,³¹ *tavar*,³² *muni*,³³ besides the compound noun *koḍumaram*, bent-wood. Other implements were made of stone at first, and iron was substituted for stone in the early Iron Age: such as the sword, *vāl*,³⁴ *uvani*,³⁵ *edi*,³⁶ *kaḍuttalai*,³⁷ *tuvaṭṭi*,³⁸ *navir*,³⁹ *nāitam*,⁴⁰ *vaṇjam*,⁴¹ *val*,⁴² short swords being called *kuṟumbidi*,⁴³ *surigai*,⁴⁴ *katti*,⁴⁵ and bent ones

1 காலரி. 2 பாண்டலை. 3 முதுநிலம். 4 படல். 5 தானை. 6 அயி. 7 உண்டை. 8 ஒட்டி. 9 ஆக்கம். 10 அக்கம்படல். 11 தார். 12 தரி. 13 இரை. 14 கூலை. 15 காலரி.

¹⁵ Murugan, the Tamil war-god, who was assimilated by the northerners with the non-Vedic god Subrahmanya, also called Shanmukha, Kārttikeya, is said to have invented different forms of military formations and written a treatise on the subject in Sanskrit.

¹⁶ புவிநிகக் கவசம் பூம்பொறி சிதைவ
வெங்குணை இழிந்த பகட்டுடழிந் மாப்பின
மறவி என்ன சலிந் மிகையேரேனே
கலிதே முண்டிச் சுழற்கு காவாய் போலவுஞ்
பன்மீ குப்பட் டுங்கல் போலவுஞ்
சுறவினத் தன்ன வாரணர் மையப்ப
மீஇயோரறிவாத மைநாடுபட் டாரே.

Puran 13

17 பாக்க. 18 கத்த. 19 தறி. 20 ஆல. 21 டுடை. 22 தறி. 23 சாயம். 24 தாசித்த. 25 தடி. 26 தல்கரி. 27 குண்டி. 28 திடி. 29 கரகதார. 30 துலை. 31 தடி. 32 தவர். 33 முயி. 34 வார். 35 வணி. 36 சிறி. 37 சரிதரம். 38 முட்டடி. 39 வரி. 40 தாட்டம். 41 வஞ்சம். 42 வர். 43 குரம்பிடி. 44 சுரிகை. 45 கத்தி.

kōṇam,¹ the spear, *iṭṭi*,² *iṭṭi*,³ *kaḷukkaḍai*,⁴ *kaḷumul*,⁵ the lanc and the javelin, *vel*,⁶ the implement of Murugan, *ṇil*,⁷ *araṇam*, *ehkam*,⁹ [from *ehku*,¹⁰ (1) sharp, (2) steel], *kundam*,¹¹ *nāṅgar*,¹² the shorter ones being *uḍambiḍi*,¹³ *viṭṭeru*,¹⁴ etc.; the trident, *kaḷu*,¹ *kaḷ*,¹⁶ the battle-axe *maḷu*,¹⁷ *kaṇichchi*,¹⁸ *kundāli*,¹⁹ *kuḷir*,²⁰ *taṇṇam*,² the arrow, *ambū*,²² *kanai*,²³ *kādiram*,²⁴ (allied to *kadir*,²⁵ ray, spike, *ka*,²⁶ *kol*,²⁷ *toḍai*,²⁸ *iṇi*,²⁹ *pagaḷi*,³⁰ *paḷlam*,³¹ *puḍai*,³² *vaṇḍu*,³ *vāḷi*,³⁴ the arrow being one of the earliest implements used by the Tamils in fighting with animals and men, has so many names; so too the string of the bow. *nāṇ*,³⁵ *nāṇi*,³⁶ *pūram*,³⁷ *āvam*,³⁸ *toḍai*,³⁹ *nāri*,⁴ *narambu*,⁴¹ *pūṭṭu*,⁴² the particular point where the arrow was placed being called *uḍu*.⁴³ The defensive weapons were the shield *kēḍagam*,⁴⁴ *kidugu*,⁴⁵ *kāḍagam*,⁴⁶ *taṭṭu*,⁴⁷ *paṇisai*,⁴⁸ *paḷagai*,⁴ *mayai*,⁵⁰ *vaṭṭaṇam*,⁵¹ *vaṭṭam*,⁵² those made of hide were distinguished as *tōl*,⁵³ *toṇṇaram*,⁵⁴ and of cane as *taṇḍai*,⁵⁵ *vāḷli*.⁵⁶ A coat of armour was *mēḷagam*,⁵⁷ *araṇi*,⁵⁸ *aṣu*,⁵⁹ *kandalaṁ*,⁶⁰ gauntlets for protecting the hands, being called *kaṇṇipudai*.⁶¹

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Drums and other musical instruments were used in warfare to inspire men and elephants (and later, horses) with martial enthusiasm. Musical instruments generally were called *zyam*,⁶² *vāṭṭiyam*,⁶³ *vāchchiyam*,⁶⁴ *isai*,⁶⁵ *isai*,⁶⁶ being the general term for music. Musical instruments were divided into four kinds, *toṇṇaruvī*,⁶⁷ those covered with leather, *tuḷai*,⁶⁸ those provided with holes, *narambukkaruvī*,⁶⁹ stringed instruments, and *miḍaṇṇukkaruvī*,⁷⁰ throat-instruments. Seven names of notes belonging to Tamil are *kural*,⁷¹ *tuttam*,⁷ *kaikkilāi*,⁷³ *ulai*,⁷⁴ *ilī*,⁷⁵ *vilāri*,⁷⁶ and *taram*,⁷⁷ said to be produced respectively in the throat, the tongue, the palate, the head, the forehead, the pharynx, and the nose. Perhaps these are the seven notes of the scale. The chief wind-instrument was the *kuḷal*,⁷⁸ the flute, of which there were many kinds, *paṇai*,⁷⁹ made of the bamboo, *āmbal*,⁸⁰ o reed, *koṇṇai*,⁸¹ of the fruit of the Cassia perforated and *mullai*, of the creeper *Jasminum trichotomum* twisted to serve as a flute. There were also different forms of the trumpet, *tārai*,⁸² *kāḷam*,⁸³ *kākaḷam*,⁸⁴ *ammīyam*,⁸⁵ *sinnam*,⁸⁶ the cornet or horn, *kombu*,⁸⁷ *keḍḍu*,⁸⁸ *iralai*,⁸⁹ *vayir*.⁹⁰

The chief stringed instrument was the *yāl*.⁹¹ There were many varieties of it, one for each of the five regions. The number of string in the *yāl* varied from four to seven, sixteen, seventeen, twenty-one.

A *yāl* was composed of various parts: 'its *pattal*'⁹² (probably sounding-board) had its edges depressed and its middle raised, like the

1 கோணம். 2 ஈட்டி. 3 இட்டி. 4 கலுக்காடையி. 5 கலுமுல். 6 குளியல். 7 அரணம். 8 அரணம். 9 எகம். 10 எகம். 11 குந்தம். 12 குளர்ச்சி. 13 கும்பி. 14 விட்டை. 15 கரு. 16 கலு. 17 கலு. 18 கலுச்சி. 19 கும்பி. 20 குளர்ச்சி. 21 தண்ணம். 22 அம்பு. 23 கனையி. 24 கனையி. 25 கனையி. 26 கனையி. 27 கனையி. 28 கனையி. 29 கனையி. 30 கனையி. 31 கனையி. 32 கனையி. 33 கனையி. 34 கனையி. 35 கனையி. 36 கனையி. 37 கனையி. 38 கனையி. 39 கனையி. 40 கனையி. 41 கனையி. 42 கனையி. 43 கனையி. 44 கனையி. 45 கனையி. 46 கனையி. 47 கனையி. 48 கனையி. 49 கனையி. 50 கனையி. 51 கனையி. 52 கனையி. 53 கனையி. 54 கனையி. 55 கனையி. 56 கனையி. 57 கனையி. 58 கனையி. 59 கனையி. 60 கனையி. 61 கனையி. 62 கனையி. 63 கனையி. 64 கனையி. 65 கனையி. 66 கனையி. 67 கனையி. 68 கனையி. 69 கனையி. 70 கனையி. 71 கனையி. 72 கனையி. 73 கனையி. 74 கனையி. 75 கனையி. 76 கனையி. 77 கனையி. 78 கனையி. 79 கனையி. 80 கனையி. 81 கனையி. 82 கனையி. 83 கனையி. 84 கனையி. 85 கனையி. 86 கனையி. 87 கனையி. 88 கனையி. 89 கனையி. 90 கனையி. 91 கனையி. 92 கனையி.

impression on the earth of an antelope's foot ; this was covered by a skin of the colour of a flame and it was stitched in the middle and the stitches resembled the row of thin hair on the belly of a fair girl in the early stages of pregnancy ; the skin was fixed to the wood by means of nails which looked like the eyes of the crab which lives in a mountain-cave ; its mouth without a palate was of the shape of the moon on the eighth day after the new moon ; its beam was like a serpent with its head upraised ; its straps were like bracelets on the forearm of a black woman ; its strings were taut and, struck by fingers looking like husked *tinai*, resounded.¹

In another poem it is described as having a *tol*,² hide of the colour of the core of the *padiri*,³ the trumpet flower, *Bignonia*. *Chelonoides*, a *tulai*,⁴ a hole with two eyes like the bud of the *kamugu*,⁵ areca-palm, a green *porvai*,⁶ looking homogeneous as if made of melted metal, a *vay*,⁷ mouth dark like a dried up spring, a *kadai*,⁸ extremity of the shape of the crescent, a *tivavu*,⁹ bands with strips of leather, moving like the bangles at the wrists of a lady, a *maruppu*,¹⁰ or *tandu*,¹¹ trunk, dark like sapphire, and *narambu*,¹² strings, as if of gold.¹³

The drum, *parai*,¹⁴ *murasu*,¹⁵ *perigai*,¹⁶ *aguvi*,¹⁷ *ellari*,¹⁸ *salligai*,¹⁹ *sallari*,²⁰ *kinai*,²¹ was also of various kinds and differed from region to region and also according to the purposes for which it was used. *Tadari*,²² or *udukkai*,²³ was a small double drum shaped like a sand-glass and carried by minstrels, *panar*.²⁴ The *taftai*,²⁵ or *karadigai*,²⁶ uttered a sound like the grunt of a bear. 'Pure Tamil' names of various tunes, *pan*,²⁷ viz., *palai*,²⁸ *kuññi*,²⁹ *marudam*,³⁰ *sevali*,³¹ occur; moreover the names of a few rāgams now sung are old Tamil names, but nothing definite about old Tamil music can be ascertained unless ancient books like the *Isainurukkam*,³² of the *Idaichchangam*,³³ the *Sirrisai*,³⁴ and the *Perisai*,³⁵ of the *Kadaichchangam*³⁶ are discovered.

The arms, offensive and defensive, and the drums, referred to above, were also used in hunting, *veṭṭai*,³⁷ *ageḍagam*,³⁸ *pabatti*,³⁹ which was another favourite occupation of kings and nobles. The professional shikari had numerous names, *aviyar*,⁴⁰ *kānavar*,⁴¹ *kuṇavar*,⁴²

- 1 குளப்புழி யன்ன கவடுபடு பத்தல்
வின்ககம் லுருவின் விழிபுற பச்சை
யெய்பா வின்குருற் செய்யோ எவ்வயிற்
றைதமவி ரொருகிய தோற்றம் போலப்
பொல்லம் பொத்திய பொதிபுற போலை
யவ்வகூழலவன் கண்கண் டன்ன
துள்வாய் தூத்த தூப்பமை யாணி
யென்னுட் டிக்கண் வடிவீற் குடு
யன்னு வில்லர வமைவரு வதவாய்ப்
பரம்பனைத் தன்ன வேங்கிடு மருப்பின்
மாயோன் முனைக யாய்தொடி கடுக்குங்
கண்கு டுருக்கைத் தின்னவணித் திவவி
ஆய்தின் யரிடு யவைய வன்ன
வேயவை போகடுய விரதுனத் தாய்பிற்
கேள்வி போடுய தீர்விதித் தொடையல்.

Porunarāruppaḍai, 4-18.

- 2தோல். 3பாநிதி. 4துள். 5கருகு. 6சரிவை. 7வாய். 8கடை. 9திவவு. 10மருப்பு.
11தண்டு. 12கம்பு. 13*Perumbūnaryruppaḍai*, 4-16. 14பறை. 15முரசு. 16பேரிடை.
17ஆகுவி. 18எல்லரி. 19சுல்லிடை. 20சுல்லரி. 21தினன். 22தடாரி. 23கடுக்கை. 24பரனைத்
25தட்டை. 26காடிடை. 27பண். 28பாலை. 29குறிஞ்சி. 30மருதம். 31செவ்வழி.
32இசைதனுக்கம். 33இடைச்சங்கம். 34திந்திசை. 35பேரிசை. 36கடைச்சங்கம். 37வேட்டை.
38ஆகேடகம். 39பாபத்தி. 40ஆயிவர். 41கனவர். 42குறவர்.

kunṭavar,¹ *kūliyar*,² *kolaiṇar*,³ *savarar*,⁴ *silavar*,⁵ *ṣillar*,⁶ *tiyar*,⁷ *pullar*,⁸ *pulaiṇar*,⁹ *maṭavar*,¹⁰ *marudar*,¹¹ *veḍar*,¹² showing how widespread that profession was. They were also employed as policemen, armed with the bow and the sharp arrow.¹³

TOWNS AND VILLAGES : HOUSES

Round the *Kōṭṭai* where the king resided, grew the *pēṭṭai*,¹⁴ (from *pe*,¹⁵ vulgar, whence is derived *pēdai*,¹⁶ common people, the poor, *pēy*,¹⁷ the wild plant, also goblin). Naturally the followers of each trade gravitated towards each other and each principal profession was confined to a single *pēṭṭai*; there were thus many suburbs around a town, separated from each other. These *pēṭṭais* were each surrounded by rice-fields or gardens. There are many words to indicate a house, such as *vīdu*,¹⁸ *agam*,¹⁹ *il*,²⁰ *illam*,²¹ *ṣerbu*,²² *pātti*,²³ *manai*,²⁴ *vayin*,²⁵ besides the compound words *uṟaiyū*,²⁶ and *pukkil*.²⁷ The houses of richer men were called *mādam*,²⁸ (whence perhaps *mādi*,²⁹ upper story) or *māligai*,³⁰ from the root *māl*,³¹ great. They were built almost entirely of timber up to about twelve centuries ago. The following words relating to parts of a house may be noted: *iṟappu*,³² *iṟai*,³³ *valavu*,³⁴ *tālvāram*,³⁵ sloping roof; *munṇil*,³⁶ *muṇṇam*,³⁷ courtyard, inside or outside a house; the compound word *nilāmuṇṇam*,³⁸ a flat roof on which one can walk up and down; *uttiram*,³⁹ *tūlam*,⁴⁰ beam *suruvuvar*,⁴¹ *tāl*,⁴² *tudai*,⁴³ *mugaḍu*,⁴⁴ *viḍaṅgam*,⁴⁵ beam projecting beyond a wall. In front of the houses was the *tinṇai*,⁴⁶ a raised and covered platform, which served the purposes of a drawing-room and bed-room for the day and even for the night. Before the *tinṇai*, was the *kuṟadu*,⁴⁷ open platform, flanked by the *oṭṭuttinṇai*.⁴⁸ The walls, the *tinṇai* and the floor of the house were no doubt polished like a mirror or black-marble, the cement being compounded of clay, charcoal and cattle-dung, *maṇ*,⁴⁹ *kari*,⁵⁰ and *ṣaṇi*,⁵¹ and applied to the surface wet and rubbed over for hours with a bit of flattened quartz, an art which is fast dying out. The entrance to the house was not flush with street, as there was a *vāyilpādi*,⁵² door-step. It was provided with a wooden frame work, *nilai*,⁵³ and a door, *kadavu*,⁵⁴ also called *araṇam*,⁵⁵ *aravam*,⁵⁶ *kāppu*,⁵⁷ *toṭṭi*,⁵⁸ *pudavu*,⁵⁹ *vāri*,⁶⁰ secured by a wooden bolt and heavily carved outside, as they are even to-day in houses not ruined by modern civilization. The houses were provided with windows, *ṣāṣaram*,⁶¹ *ṣannal*,⁶² *palagaṇi*,⁶³ being, as the name implied, a many-eyed lattice window. Behind the door ran a narrow passage, *iḍaikaḷi*,⁶⁴ or *naḍai*,⁶⁵ which led into the house. The houses were provided with

- 1 குன்றவத். 2 கூலியர். 3 கொலைஞர். 4 சாவர். 5 சிலவர். 6 ஸிலார். 7 தியர். 8 புல்லர். 9 புலையர். 10 மறவர். 11 மருதர். 12 வேடர். 13 கத்தல் அம்பிற் கொடுவீல் கூலியர்.

Malaiṟaḍukaḍam, 422.

14 கோட்டை. 15 பே. 16 பேதை. 17 பேய். 18 வீடு. 19 அகம். 20 இல். 21 இல்லம். 22 சேம்பு. 23 பந்தி. 24 மண். 25 வயின். 26 கூறையன். 27 புகடில். The houses of Brāhmaṇas were given the Sanskrit name of *Aharam* (ஆகரம்) and the street where they lived *akkirāḍaram* (அக்கிராசரம்.)

- 28 மாடம். 29 மாடி. 30 மாளிகை. 31 மாள். 32 இறப்பு. 33 இறை. 34 வளவு. 35 தாழ்வாரம். 36 முன்றல். 37 முற்றம். 38 நிலைமுற்றம். 39 உத்திரம். 40 தூவல். 41 உதவாரி. 42 தாழ். 43 தடை. 44 துகடு. 45 விலங்கம். 46 திணைநீர். 47 குறடு. 48 ஒட்டுத்திணைநீர். 49 மண். 50 கரி. 51 சாணி. 52 வாயில்படி. 53 நிலை. 54 கதவு. 55 அரணம். 56 அரவம். 57 சரப்பு. 58 தோட்டி. 59 தாவு. 60 வாரி. 61 சான்றம். 62 சன்னல். 63 பலகணி. 64 இடைக்கல். 65 நடை.

drains, *sakkadri*,¹ or *sālagam*,² as were the houses of Mohenjo-daro, recently unearthed. The spout of the drain was *tambu*,³ *puḥal*,⁴ *surungu*.⁵ The inside walls were provided with niches, *purai*,⁶ in which were placed, among other things, the lamps to light the house by night. These lamps were little bowls of stone or earthen-ware, or metal, *agal*,⁷ *tagaḷi*,⁸ *tagaḷi*,⁹ *idiñḷi*,¹⁰ *pāṇḍil*,¹¹ in which castor oil or other oils were burnt with a cotton wick.¹² Behind the house was another *kuṇadu*,¹³ which was a lumber room. Behind this the house-well, *kinaru*,¹⁴ *aṣumbu*,¹⁵ *uṇavi*,¹⁶ *kuḷi*,¹⁷ *kūval*,¹⁸ *kūdam*,¹⁹ *tuvuvu*,²⁰ *kēni*.²¹ *pūval*,²² the latter three being water pits without a protecting stricture of wood around them. Behind the well stretched a garden, either a kitchen garden or a fruit tope, *kollai*,²³ *toṭṭam*,²⁴ *toṭṭam*,²⁵ *āvalam*,²⁶ *tuḍavai*,²⁷ *toḍuvu*,²⁸ *paḍappai*,²⁹ *pāvagam*,³⁰ *punam*.³¹ In the *kollai* behind the house was the *koṭṭil*,³² cattle-shed, *koṭṭu*,³³ from probably the same word as Telugu *godḍu*, cattle, and *il*, meaning house. Behind the garden stretched the corn fields, *vayal*.³⁴

The furniture of houses was utensils for polishing and grinding rice and for cooking it in various ways. *Ural*³⁵ and *ullakkai*³⁶ mortar and pestle, of both wood and stone, pounding stones of several shapes, sometimes the shape of the tortoise or other animals, *ammi*,³⁷ *tiruvai*,³⁸ *aṭṭukkal*,³⁹ *kuḷavi*,⁴⁰ mealers of stone, *puṭṭil*,⁴¹ *vaiṭṭigai*,⁴² basket, *muyam*,⁴³ *sinnam*,⁴⁴ *suḷagu*,⁴⁵ *taṭṭu*,⁴⁶ *muyril*,⁴⁷ winnowing fan, *sallaḍai*,⁴⁸ sieve; different forms of pots of earthenware or soft stone, *pānai*.⁴⁹ *saṭṭi*,⁵⁰ *sal*,⁵¹ *kuḍam*,⁵² *midā*,⁵³ *pāna*,⁵⁴ *mallaḷ*,⁵⁵ lid for the same, *maḍakku*,⁵⁶ spoons, at first made of wood, and then of iron or other metal, *agaḍṭai*,⁵⁷ (of three kinds, *taṭṭagaḍṭai*,⁵⁸ *sandagaḍṭai*,⁵⁹ *siṇṇagaḍṭai*,⁶⁰) *saṭṭuvam*,⁶¹ *karandi*,⁶² *muṭṭai*, *tuḍuppu*,⁶³ *maravai*,⁶⁴ *marakkal*,⁶⁵ or *ambanam*,⁶⁶ *loṭṭi*,⁶⁷ *kinnam*,⁶⁸ *vaiṭṭi*,⁶⁹ *vaiṭṭil*,⁷⁰ flat spoon, all of wood or stone coming down from the stone age and a few of metal since the commencement of the iron age; other household furniture were *manai*,⁷¹ planks for sitting on or shaped logs used as pillows, *peṭṭi*,⁷² *pēlai*,⁷³ *añjikai*,⁷⁴ box, the stone-age form of which was the *kaṭṭuppeṭṭi*,⁷⁵ a box of wicker work without any metal parts and bound together by means of cocoanut coir, and hence absolutely unpolittable by touch and fit for storing eatables and the Lares and Penates; *kaṭṭil*,⁷⁶ literally bound place, a cot made of bamboos fitted together into an oblong framework bound together with ropes, also called *pāṇḍil*; literature mentions richer forms of

¹சர்க்கடை. ²சாலகம். ³தும்பு. ⁴புறல். ⁵சுருங்கு. ⁶புறல். ⁷அகல். ⁸தகல். ⁹தகல். ¹⁰இடிஞ்சில். ¹¹பாண்டில். ¹²பகுதி வெண்டிரிச் செஞ்சடைச் சல்லில். ¹³Kurundogai, 353. ¹⁴சுறம்பு. ¹⁵அசும்பு. ¹⁶உறவி. ¹⁷குழி. ¹⁸குவல். ¹⁹கூடம். ²⁰தூறு. ²¹கேனி. ²²பூவல். ²³கொல்லு. ²⁴தோட்டம். ²⁵தோட்டம். ²⁶ஆவலம். ²⁷துடவை. ²⁸தோட்டை. ²⁹பாடப்பை. ³⁰புளகம். ³¹புளம். ³²A new kollai was *vidaippunam*, (விதைப்புளம்) and an old one, or one made by cutting and burning down a forest, *mudaiippunam* (முதைப்புளம்). ³³கொட்டில். ³⁴கொட்டை. ³⁵உரல். ³⁶உலககை. ³⁷அம்மி. ³⁸திருவை. ³⁹அட்டக்கல். ⁴⁰குழவி. ⁴¹புட்டில். ⁴²வட்டிகை. ⁴³முயம். ⁴⁴சின்னம். ⁴⁵சுளகு. ⁴⁶தாட்டி. ⁴⁷முறி. ⁴⁸சல்லடை. ⁴⁹பாணை. ⁵⁰சட்டி. ⁵¹சால். ⁵²கூடம். ⁵³மிடல். ⁵⁴பாணை. ⁵⁵மல்லல். ⁵⁶மாடக்கு. ⁵⁷அகப்பை. ⁵⁸தட்டப்பை. ⁵⁹சந்தப்பை. ⁶⁰திருப்பை. ⁶¹சாட்டி. ⁶²கரண்டி. ⁶³முட்டை. ⁶⁴மாறல். ⁶⁵மாறல். ⁶⁶அம்பனம். ⁶⁷தோட்டை. ⁶⁸கின்னம். ⁶⁹வட்டி. ⁷⁰வட்டி. ⁷¹மணை. ⁷²பட்டை. ⁷³பட்டை. ⁷⁴பட்டை. ⁷⁵பட்டை. ⁷⁶பட்டை. ⁷⁷பட்டை. ⁷⁸பட்டை. ⁷⁹பட்டை. ⁸⁰பட்டை. ⁸¹பட்டை. ⁸²பட்டை. ⁸³பட்டை. ⁸⁴பட்டை. ⁸⁵பட்டை. ⁸⁶பட்டை. ⁸⁷பட்டை. ⁸⁸பட்டை. ⁸⁹பட்டை. ⁹⁰பட்டை. ⁹¹பட்டை. ⁹²பட்டை. ⁹³பட்டை. ⁹⁴பட்டை. ⁹⁵பட்டை. ⁹⁶பட்டை. ⁹⁷பட்டை. ⁹⁸பட்டை. ⁹⁹பட்டை. ¹⁰⁰பட்டை.

the *pandil*, which will be described later on, tied with tape, *taṭṭam*,¹ or *kachchu*,² woven with decorative lines, like the stripes of a tiger; this kind of cot was called *kachchukkattil*,³ the former being *kayirruk-kattil*.⁴

Besides the cot there was the *toṭṭil*,⁵ cradle, literally, hanging place, (from *to*,⁶ whose intensive is *longu*,⁷ to hang,) *tūli*,⁸ hammock, *uñjal*⁹ or *vīsupalagai*,¹⁰ swinging plank, *kuḍalai*¹¹ plaited basket for gathering flowers, *simil*,¹² small casket, *uṟi*,¹³ or *simili*,¹⁴ a loop of string suspended from the roof of a house or from the end of a pole called *kavaḍi*,¹⁵ by means of which one man can carry two men's loads; *kaṇappu*,¹⁶ or *kumbatti*¹⁷ for warming the hands and the breast during cold nights, *paṭṭadai*,¹⁸ *ṣumudu*,¹⁹ *ṣummādu*,²⁰ contrivances on which to stand pots *kūḍu*,²¹ coop, *kudir*,²² granary, *paraṇ*,²³ *idaṇam*,²⁴ *kaḷudu*,²⁵ *paḍagam*,²⁶ *paṇavai*,²⁷ loft for storing articles, also raised platform for watching birds and other enemies of the growing crops, *taḍavu*,²⁸ *indaḷam*,²⁹ censer, *ṇelikol*,³⁰ stick for churning fire, *iṭṭku*,³¹ *kā*,³² *niṟaikol*,³³ steelyard introduced into Europe by the Dutch and hence called Dutch steel-yard, *kavan*,³⁴ *taḷal*,³⁵ sling, also bull-roarer; *pay*,³⁶ mat, and *mettai*,³⁷ *aṇai*,³⁸ *amaḷi*,³⁹ *kāguḷi*,⁴⁰ *taviṣu*,⁴¹ *taḷimam*,⁴² bed stuffed with cotton. These constitute, even now, the complete furniture of Tamil homes such as have not come under the seductive influence of European foreign trade.

The poorer people lived in huts, *kuḍiṣai*,⁴³ *kuḍil*,⁴⁴ *kuchchu*,⁴⁵ *kuchchil*,⁴⁶ *kurambai*.⁴⁷ Their walls were made of wattle and clay, and they were generally circular, rarely rectangular, in shape; the roof was rarely aspidal, but mostly domical and topped by a pot, *kuḍam*,⁴⁸ through a hole in which were passed the bamboos constituting the framework of the roof; and from the early days when such huts were built, temples were built in similar fashion, and when later they were built of brick or stone, over the shrines was built a domical roof, furnished with a metal pot, now called *kaḷaṣam*⁴⁹ and serving an ornamental, not useful, purpose.

The following is a description of a hunter's hut of old times:—

'In the huts of the hunters were leaning, on the planks decorated with bells, lances whose ends were blunted and smelling of flesh from the bodies of enemies whom the hunters killed and left lying on the ground, a prey for kites. Bows with the string tied in knots were also leaning on the walls on which there was a thatch of *ūga*⁵⁰ grass. Bundles of arrows with notches like honeycombs on hills were hanging from the thick legs of the pandal. The huts were guarded by dogs chained to posts. The compound was surrounded by a living hedge of thorns. The door was fastened by a strong beam. In front were

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| 1 பட்டம. | 2 கச்சு. | 3 தச்சகாட்டில். | 4 கவிந்தச்சட்டில். | 5 தொட்டில். |
| 6 தொ. | 7 தொக்கு | 8 தூசி. | 9 கண்குச்சு. | 10 வீசுபலைய. |
| 12 சிமி. | 13 உ. | 14 சிமி. | 15 தாவு. | 16 தண்ப்பு. |
| 18 பட்டை. | 19 கழு. | 20 கம்மாடு. | 21 கடு. | 22 குதி. |
| 24 இணை. | 25 கழு. | 26 படகம். | 27 பணை. | 28 தட்டி. |
| 30 குவிகோ. | 31 தூ. | 32 தா. | 33 திதகோ. | 34 கவண. |
| 36 பர. | 37 மெத்தை. | 38 அணை. | 39 அணி. | 40 காஞ்சி. |
| 43 குடிசை. | 44 குடி. | 45 குச்சு. | 46 குச்சி. | 47 குரம்பை. |
| 48 குடம். | 49 கலசம். | 50 கைசம். | | |

fixed rows of stiff-standing, cruel-pointed stakes. Such were the houses of the hunters who were armed with the bent bow.¹

More or less irregular rows or groups of *kudisais*,² huts, sparsely interspersed with *māligais*,³ constituted the street, *teru*,⁴ *avanam*,⁵ *koṣam*,⁶ *ñellal*,⁷ *marugu*,⁸ a long street was called *manjam*,⁹ a short one, *koṇam*,¹⁰ and the place where many streets meet, *śadukkam*,¹¹ or *sandu*.¹² Towns and villages were named variously according to the regions, *tinai*,¹³ they belonged to. Thus in Kuṟiñji, they were called *śirukudi*,¹⁴ *kuṟichchi*; ¹⁵ in Mullai, *paḍi*,¹⁶ *seri*,¹⁷ *paḷli*; ¹⁸ in Marudam, *ūr*; ¹⁹ in Neydal, *paḥkam*; ²⁰ and in Pālai, *paṇ-dalai*.²¹ In the towns dwelt, side by side, *mēḷor*²² or *uyarudor*²³ and *kāḷor*²⁴ or *tāḷudor*,²⁵ the higher and the lower classes. The later literature of the early Christian centuries speak of two assemblies of men who were the recipients of royal confidence—*aiṁberukūḷu*²⁶ and *eṇṇerāyam*.²⁷ *kūḷu*²⁸ and *āyam*²⁹ meant assemblies; the five assemblies have been explained by commentators as those of ministers, priests, army leaders, ambassadors and intelligence officers, but the names of these, viz., *amaichchar*,³⁰ *puruhitar*,³¹ *śenāpadiyar*,³² *tūduvar*³³ and *saraṇar*³⁴, are all *tadbhavas* from Sanskrit and hence it is difficult to decide that the five groups of officers existed from old times. The group of eight are said to consist of ministers, executive officers, treasury officers, door-keepers, citizens, generals, elephant-warriors, horse-soldiers.³⁵ This enumeration, mixing men of high and low degree, does not strike one as referring to very ancient times. An early commentator of *Silappadigāram* gives a less improbable enumeration of these five and eight assemblies; the five are made up of sages, Brahmans, physicians, soothsayers and ministers; even this cannot be a classification of the Pre-Aryan Epoch because Brāhmaṇas occurs in the list. The eight are those who apply sandal paste to the person of the king, those that decorate him with flowers, those that

1 புக்தபட
புக்தபடத் தெவவா கடுக வச்சு
கைத்தரி மருந்திய புலவசு யெலிகம்
வடிமணிப் பங்கையெடு கிறைதி முடிநா—
சாபு சாத்திய கண்ணுக்கு விரை
கைம் வேய்த வயிற் றைப்பிசை
கைத்தேன் புறையும் கைவகைப் புறையெடு
கெத்தும தூக்கும் கைநாற் பந்தர
தெரடாசா யாத்த துணைநாற் கடிக்க
வாழ்முல் வேலிச் சூழ்நிறப் படம்பைப்
கெடுதகத் தழிபுயப் புதவிற் செந்நிலை
கெடுதழி வயக்கழு நிறைந்த வயிற்
கொடுவி வெயின் குறம்பு.

Perumbāṇṇṟuppaḍai. 117—129.

2 குடிசை. 3 மரணிகை. 4 தெரு. 5 ஆவணம். 6 கோசம். 7 குருவல்வ. 8 மாரு. 9 மனற்
10 கோணம். 11 சதுக்கம். 12 சது. 13 திணை. 14 கருடி. 15 குறிச்சு. 16 பாடி. 17 செரி.
18 பன்லி. 19 னை. 20 பாக்கம். 21 பந்தர்நிலை. 22 மெலோர். 23 உயர்ந்தோர். 24 துழோர்.
25 தாழ்ந்தோர். 26 இம்பெருகுடி. 27 எண்பேராயம். 28 குறு. 29 ஆயம். 30 ஆணைச்சை. 31 புரோகிதர்.
32 சேனாபதிபர். 33 துதுவர். 34 சாரணர் ஆணைச்சைப் புரோகிதர் சேனாபதிபர் தவாந்தரத்திற்
துதுவர் சாரணரென நிவப் பந்தரிபுத் தைம்பரும் குறுவெண்படுமெ. *Divākaram* 118.
35 கரணத்தியலகர் கருமிநிகர், கணகச்சுற்றகனடை காப்பவரர், காமரவரர் கணிபடைத்தலைவர்,
யானைவர் நிவுநிற வரினையெண்பேராயமென்ப. *Id.* quoted in the commentaries on
Silappadigāram, v. 157, p. 144.

fasten his belt, those that clothe him, those that supply arecanut and betel leaves and those that put on his armour.' This looks like a genuine list of the persons immediately round the king.

DRESS

The cotton plant is a native of India and the Indians of the later stone age learnt to spin the cotton fibre into thread, *nāl*,² *ilai*,³ *saraḍu*,⁴ *todar*,⁵ *nuvaṇam*,⁶ *panuvai*,⁷ *piṣin*,⁸ and to weave cotton yarn into long pieces of cloth. The idea of cloth was no doubt suggested by *pannāḍai*⁹, also called *neyyari*¹⁰ which the people wore, besides hides, before the invention of cotton-weaving. *Pannāḍai* is the web at the bottom of a young palmyra or coconut leaf and was used as cloth in very ancient times, for *maravūṇi*,¹¹ tree-flay, also called *asini*,¹² *iṇaiṇji*,¹³ *śīram*,¹⁴ *śīrai*,¹⁵ is one of the forms of dress which possesses the holiness of hoary antiquity and is patronized by sacred ascetics and pilgrims. The supply of cotton was abundant and weavers wore endless lengths of cotton cloth, *tuḡil*,¹⁶ which they cut into short pieces, *aruṇai*,¹⁷ *tuṇi*,¹⁸ *tuṇḍu*¹⁹ before winding round their persons. The number of words meaning dress is very great: *āsāran*,²⁰ *āsīḍai*,²¹ *āḍai*,²² *idaidai*,²³ *ilakkāram*,²⁴ *uḍukkai*,²⁵ *uḍai*,²⁶ *eḍagam*,²⁷ *oliyal*,²⁸ (specially used for *mēlāḍai*, cloth worn over the shoulder), *kandai*,²⁹ *kattiyam*,³⁰ *kappadam*,³¹ *kalai*,³² *kāḍagam*,³³ *kāṇḍam*,³⁴ *kāḷagam*,³⁵ *kūṇai*,³⁶ (now used for cloth, presented to the bride during marriage), *koḍi*³⁷ (now used for cloth, unwashed, straight from the hands of the weaver or the vendor), *sambaran*,³⁸ *sādi*,³⁹ *siṇṇil*,⁴⁰ *śīrai*,⁴¹ *śūdi*,⁴² *śelai*,⁴³ *tanai*⁴⁴ (also *mēlāḍai*), *tuṣu*,⁴⁵ *tattī*,⁴⁶ *tūriyam*,⁴⁷ *tokkai*,⁴⁸ *miḍiyal*,⁴⁹ *pūḍavai*,⁵⁰ (now restricted to the long piece of cloth worn by women), *paḍam*,⁵¹ *paṭṭam*,⁵² and many others. All these words meant cloth woven of the fibre of cotton. Those woven of silk were called *karambu*,⁵³ *paṇi*,⁵⁴ *paranam*,⁵⁵ *pālidam*,⁵⁶ and woollen cloth, *mayiragam*,⁵⁷ *vayiriyam*.⁵⁸ The fewness of the names of silk and woollen cloth shows that weaving in these was scarce. Cloth dyed in various colours, *śāyam toyṭa*,⁵⁹ was freely used. Indeed decoration being the chief aim of Indian art, as will be explained later, plain white cloth was considered as fit for occasions of mourning and for being worn by women in permanent mourning, i.e., widows. Hence dyed cloth and that decorated with flowers on the borders and throughout the body of the cloth was the usual wear. A much decorated cloth,

சாசுத்துக்கு கச்சாடை பாக்நிலை கருககடு
பாயநத விவரென்றை ராயந்தோர்—வேகந்தாரு
மரசனம் பராப்பார் மருந்தந் வாழ்மிதிந்த ரோடமைச்ச
ராவிலமைக்க கனத்தரமார்த்து. *Op. cit.* p. 144.

- 2 துல். 3 இதை. 4 சாரு. 5 தாடர். 6 நவணம். 7 பதுவல். 8 பிளின. 9 பன்னாடை.
10 உயயரி. 11 மரவுரி. 12 துவி. 13 இதைத்து. 14 சீரம். 15 திரை. 16 துதி. 17 அருவை.
from root அ. to cut. 18 துடை. 19 துண்டு. both from root து to cut. 20 ஆசாரம். 21 துடை.
22 துடை. 23 துடை. 24 இலக்காரம். 25 உடுக்கை. 26 உடை. 27 உடை.
28 துலிபல். 29 காதை. 30 தத்தியம். 31 கப்படம். 32 தலை. 33 கரடகம். 34 கரண்டம். 35 கரழகம்.
36 கடை. 37 கோரடி. 38 சம்பரம். 39 சாடி. 40 திற்றில். 41 திரை. 42 துடி. 43 தோலை.
44 துடி. 45 துடி. 46 துடி. 47 துரியம். 48 தோக்கை. 49 மிடியல். 50 புடவை. 51 படம்.
52 படம். 53 கரம்பு. 54 பணி. 55 பரணம். 56 பாலிடம். 57 மயிரகம். 58 வயிரியம்.
59 சாயந்தோய்த்து.

woven so finely that the yarn could not be distinguished by sight and adorned with woven flowers so that it looked like the skin of the serpent is referred to in literature.¹ The sentiment against plain, white, undecorated cloth was so strong even two generations ago, when machine-made cloth began to compete vigorously with hand-woven cloth, that the more conservative of the men, who were tempted to use Manchester mull on account of its cheapness, stitched across its borders and along its edges, lines of red thread to make it look respectable. Even to-day the old instincts assert themselves on occasions of festive celebrations, when undecorated cloth is taboo. This objection to undecorated cloth, yards of unrelieved whiteness, this sentiment springing from age-long association of plain, undyed, undecorated cloth with mourning and the offensiveness of its monotony to eyes trained to a sense of beauty and to the æsthetic instincts common to all Indians, has in the last two generations been vanquished by the glamour of machine-made cloth, woven of yarn spun evenly by spinning machines and polished by chemical appliances, ever-new forms of which are being invented day after day. Tamil ladies alone have presented a solid front of opposition to this destruction of the æsthetic sense of South Indians by soul-less, machine-made cloth.

Weaving in wool is as ancient as weaving in cotton; it was essentially an industry, not of *marudam*, but of *mullai*, in the less fertile parts of which lived the *Kurumbār*,² the class of herdsmen who tended the *kuṟumbādu*,³ and wove from its fleece the *kambalam*,⁴ ten thousands years ago as they do to-day. Wool weaving did not go beyond its crude stage in Southern India; but in Northern India, and especially in Kashmir, where the supply of soft wool from the necks of Himalayan goats was unlimited and where vegetation on the banks of hill-streams and beds of flowers on mountain-sides, presented ever varying patterns to be incorporated by the weaver in wool, was developed the splendid industry of shawl-weaving, which will never be killed by the greatest growth of machine-weaving, so long as man has eyes to see beautiful forms and sense to appreciate beautiful designs.

Silk was used chiefly for decorating the edges of cotton cloth, since the silk fibre was not abundant; but from the earliest times cloth was also wholly woven of silk thread; silk cloth and woollen cloth are less susceptible of the pollution of touch than cotton cloth, showing that they were older manufactures than the latter. A cloth woven from rat's hair is also mentioned.⁵ But cotton cloth was peculiarly sensitive to touch, in the sense that it could be easily polluted. Every piece of cotton cloth, doffed, *viṭutta*,⁶ after wear even for a second became *viṭuppu*,⁷ polluted, and the pollution could be got rid of only after being washed with water, dried in air and folded, when it became *maḍi*.⁸ This last word meaning fold, came to mean a cloth.

¹சேகரு துறைநல்லா நன்மைப் பூக்கள் தாவுரியன் வறவை. *Porunnarūruppaḍai*, 82.83.

²குறம்பர். ³குறம்பாடு. ⁴கம்பலம்.

⁵ *Silappadigāram*, xiv. 205-7 speaks of the streets where were sold, cloth folded a hundred-fold, woven of fine cotton yarn, hair and silk thread; here the commentator explains hair to be rats' hair.

⁶துவிது மயிற்று துறைநாற் பட்டினும், பால்வகை தெரியார் பன்னூற்றிக்கத்த ஈழமடி, செறித்த வறவை விதியும்.

⁷விழுத்த.

⁸மிகுப்பு.

⁹மடி.

sacramentally pure, when folded after being washed and dried. Such cloth was unfolded and worn, a long piece around the waist and another, round the trunk, loose and graceful, beautiful to look at and allowing the air and the sun to kiss the skin and destroy the innumerable germs that get lodged in it and destroy its health. The supply of cotton being unlimited and the patience of the weavers being inexhaustible, there was no temptation, such as existed in wool-wearing countries, to cut up cloth so as to make small bits go a long way, and to prepare stitched clothes. Not that the needle (*usi*,¹ *ilai-vāṅgi*,²) or its use in stitching, *tunnal*,³ *taiyal*,⁴ was unknown,⁵ but in addition to the objection that stitched clothes reveal too much the human anatomy, there was no necessity to use them when cloth was plentiful. Indeed whole cloth, without a tear, mended or unmended, became in popular estimation sacramentally pure, and stitches of any kind rendered cloth unfit for use on ceremonial occasions. Ladies who in all respects preserve ancient orthodoxy intact, do not wear stitched cloth on such occasions. The jacket, the only form of stitched clothes ladies wear, has got the non-Tamil name of *ravikkai*; ⁶ it was possibly introduced into the country by Yavana (Greek and Roman) ladies that formed the body-guard of Indian kings two thousand years ago, or later by the Muhammadans. Whatever its origin, it is worn only on secular occasions and even then only by young women, who are allowed greater lapses into heterodoxy of conduct than elderly ladies. Serving men and soldiers wore coats, *saṭṭai*,⁷ *kuppāyam*,⁸ *taippai*,⁹ *meypai*,¹⁰ the latter two *karanappeyar*, indicating that a coat was a late introduction in the lives of the Tamils. The absence of stitched clothes among the Indians struck that accurate foreign student of Indian manners, Al Bērūnī, as so peculiar, that he remarks that the Indians 'wore turbans for trousers,' a long piece of unstitched cloth appealing to the Muslim imagination as being fit only for turbans. The Tamils did not wear turbans as a rule, their unshaved head serving as sufficient protection against the sun; but in the cotton districts where the summer sun is so fierce, men wore huge turbans and tight fore-lap cloth. This latter, *kachchu*,¹¹ *kachchai*,¹² *kōvaṇam*,¹³ is the only absolutely indispensable garment for the Tamil people, and is woven with decorative lines, athwart and along, even to-day in parts of South India. Apparently the turban was not universal; only one name for it is traceable—*pāgai*,¹⁴ or *pāgu*,¹⁵ often with *talai*,¹⁶ prefixed to it, it is not possible to guess why. There remain *kuḍai*,¹⁷ umbrella, made of palm leaves and fixed to a stick or clapped on the head like a hat, and *seruppu*,¹⁸ leather sandals and *kuradu*,¹⁹ wooden sandals, for the feet, both also being referred to by the compound word *midiyaḍi*.²⁰

¹ஊசி. ²இழைவாங்கி. ³துண்டல். ⁴தையல்.

⁵ A poor man's rags are described in *Porunarāyruppaḍai*, 80-81, as cloth stitched, full of threads other than those with which it was woven and wet with sweat.

கேடுரை நனைந்த வேற்றிழை துழைந்த, துண்ணி நிரை அந்.

⁶ ரவிகை.	⁷ சட்டை.	⁸ குப்பாயம்.	⁹ தையம்.	¹⁰ மெய்ப்பை.	¹¹ சச்ச.
¹² சச்சை.	¹³ கோவணம்.	¹⁴ பாசை.	¹⁵ பாசு.	¹⁶ தலை.	¹⁷ குடை.
¹⁸ செருப்பு.	¹⁹ குறடு.	²⁰ மிதியடி.			

DECORATION

The artistic instincts of the Indian people expressed themselves in the form of personal decoration by means of dress and ornaments. Love of decorating not only the person but of every article, has been the inspiring motive of Indian art throughout the ages. Their dwellings were decorated with colour drawings, as is proved by the fact that palettes, and pencils have been found in Stone Age settlements and that even to-day painting on walls and covering the floor daily inside and outside houses with most elaborate designs in coloured powders is practiced. The custom is so old that only on occasions of a death in the house, is it temporarily suspended. Such adornment of the floor is called *kolam*,¹ which word means beauty, ornaments, embellishments, costumes, trappings, and *kolam burnaippen*,² or *vanna-magal*,³ is the girl who is expert in embellishment, also a lady's dressing maid. This is one of many ancient Indian customs that is dying out on account of the impact of Western civilization; our ladies are struggling to keep up the custom, but our young girls are being no more apprenticed to our matrons for being trained as *kolam burnaippen*. As the soul-less 'type-design' buildings constructed by the D.P.W., are destroying taste in architecture, so the education that is given in our girls' schools is killing out the ancient Indian art of house decoration, which now exists only in the villages round celebrated temples and which can be witnessed only on occasions when the temple God is brought out in procession.

Every article of domestic furniture was decorated with art work. Stone articles were made in the shape of tortoises, fishes, heads of cows, etc. and their surface decorated with lines. All articles of wood were filled with wood-carving in various designs. Most of these designs were based on the parts of the lotus plant. The lotus is a plant, every part of which is useful to man; its flower, its seed, its root and its stem are edible and also used in Indian medicine. Its stem and flowers and leaves are used for purposes of decoration. Hence the shape of its leaf and flower and of its stem and seed were combined in various ways to make designs for carving in wood or metal. Every part of the house was ornamented with such carvings: the door-frame, the doors, beam-ends, every part of a pillar, its base, its body, its cornice, was filled with beautiful carvings. When stone was substituted for wood as material for all this work, designs for wood-carving were transferred to stone, though it is very difficult to copy on stone the kind of carving suited to wood.

Not only fixtures but also all movable articles were filled with decorative carving. Sitting and other planks had many designs cut on them; lotus flowers, cut in metal, were used to make them look pleasing to the eye. All household utensils of wood or metal were works of art. Drinking vessels and water-pots were not only made of the most artistic shapes but were decorated with line-drawing and carving; this continues to be so except in towns where the ugly machine-made products of modern European factories are slowly displacing the products of ancient Indian art-work and the artistic sense of the Indian people being slowly choked out.

¹ *கொலம்*.² *கொலம் புனைப்பெண்*.³ *வண்ணமகள்*.

The humblest tool used by the ancient Indian was made of a beautiful shape and was besides decorated; the humble bill book, *arivāḥ*,¹ which is hooked on to the waist-string of the labourer, is not only of a beautiful shape, but is provided with leaf-shaped notches and the brass ferule which binds it to its handle is decorated with art work. The vegetable knife, used in every house, *arivāḥmanai*,² has its iron part shaped to resemble a bird and its wooden part covered with line-design. No Indian workman will finish any work of his hands, small or big, humble or otherwise, without putting on it some bit of art work. The country cart, cumbrous as it looks to the careless observer, has every part of it, including the beam, *achchu*,³ on which the frame-work rests and which holds or does duty for the axle-tree is filled with carvings of the lotus flower or the lotus leaves or stems. The rich carvings on temple-cars which are but copies of ancient wood temples, are too well known to require description here.

The extraordinary development of wood-carving (succeeded by stone-carving) in preference to other forms of art in India was due to two causes. Hard woods that lent themselves to most minute carving grew in abundance. But the more important cause is that the aim of Indian art is decorative and not imitative. Ancient Greek art had for its aim the imitation of the forms of men and of natural objects; the nearer the copy was to the original, the more successful was the art product claimed to be. The art work was executed for its own sake, because as Keats said, 'a thing of beauty is a joy for ever'. Hence art was an end in itself and art-objects were not considered decorations of the drawing room or of something other than themselves. Thus the famous frescoes which exist in various parts of the country are but decorations of cave temples and cave-monasteries, just as carving and group-statuary in stone, in stucco, or in wood, are but decorations of the *vimānam*,⁴ *gōpūram*,⁵ or the car of the temple. Hence whereas pictures or statues which belong to Greek art are individual objects, those belonging to Indian art are extensive compositions, stories in paint, or stone or wood. Greek art aims at perfection of form, because each art-product exists by itself: Indian art aims at representation of life and moving objects and not still life, because each figure is but the part of an extensive composition. Self-restraint is the chief characteristic of the Greek art, but the Indian artist lets himself go without any restriction on the outflow of his genius. As a singer when performing *ālāpanam*⁶ of a *rāgam*,⁷ takes a theme and rings endless changes on it, as many as his throat is capable of producing, as a poet, started on a description, seems never to be able to exhaust his subject, so the painter and the carver is never tired of multiplying details in the exposition of the central idea. Foreigners do the greatest injustice possible to Indian art when they take away from their proper place pieces of the stone work of Bharhut or Amarāvati, bits of paintings from Ajanta or Ellora, and judge them divorced from their environment, and in conditions of light different from those where they were originally placed. It looks like judging Shakespeare's plays from a dictionary of quotations.

¹ அரிவாள்.
செருப்பு.

² அரிவாள் மணை.
செருப்பணை.

³ அச்சு.
7 ராஸ்.

⁴ விமானம்.

Indian art did not aim at producing specimens for the drawing room, but the æsthetic sense was correlated with other senses, so that every object, big or small, was decorated with art work, the only undecorated objects being the head and neck of a widow who wants to observe life-long mourning. Hence our ladies love to decorate their persons with jewels and silks and it will be an unhappy day for India if their æsthetic sense is blunted by the modern virtue of possessing a bank-balance and they should sell their personal decorations, their 'barbaric pearl and gold' for developing the habit of depositing their wealth in banks. The Tamilladies of ancient times were decorated in various ways. Their *kūṇḍal*¹ was dressed in various artistic ways, one of which was in imitation of *suṛavu vāy*,² shark's mouth. Other ways of *mayirmudi*³ or binding the hair into knots were *uchchi*,⁴ *konḍai*,⁵ *koppu*,⁶ *siḷaiḷigai*,⁷ *tammiḷam*,⁸ and *muchchi*.⁹ The different kinds of garlands with which the head and neck were adorned have already been referred to. The body was painted with pastes and powders of various kinds. The chief of the pastes were *manjal*,¹⁰ turmeric or saffron made into a paste, *sandanakkulambu*¹¹ also called *tēyvai*,¹² *sāṇḍu*,¹³ *toyil*,¹⁴ *toyil*,¹⁵ sandal paste mixed with various scents. The latter was spread on the chest, the mammæ and the abdomen and beautiful designs in line-drawing drawn thereon. A variety of paste for the hair was called *tagaram*.¹⁶ On the paste was strewn powders of several kinds. One such was *poṇḍurṇam*,¹⁷ powdered gems, gold, sandal wood, and camphor.

The Tamils were exceedingly fond of decoration; so there are many words meaning to decorate, e.g., *anī*,¹⁸ *ār*,¹⁹ *śūḍu*,²⁰ *punai*,²¹ *pāṇ*,²² *malai*,²³ *miḷai*,²⁴ *vēy*,²⁵ *milai*,²⁶ *ey*, *vari*.²⁷

So, too, there are numerous words which mean an ornament, of which some are *anī*,²⁸ *anikalam*,²⁹ *āram*,³⁰ *iḷai*,³¹ *nagai*,³² *paṇi*,³³ *pāṇ*,³⁴ *mañju*,³⁵ *maḍḍai*,³⁶ *vallī*.³⁷ The lobes of the ears were pierced to receive the *iḍḍu*³⁸ or *kūḷai*;³⁹ poorer people wore the *olai*,⁴⁰ which was at first a bit of tender palmyra leaf, sometime coloured, rolled into a circle; then the same was made of gold plate rolled into various shapes, including the shapes of mythological monsters; the same, set with gems, became the ear-ornament of the rich, *iḷḷuruvai*,⁴¹ *kaḍukkan*,⁴² *kaḍippam*,⁴³ *kunukku*,⁴⁴ *koṭṭai*,⁴⁵ *tūkkam*,⁴⁶ *iṅgal*,⁴⁷ *veḍam*,⁴⁸ were other ear-ornaments. The jewel symbolic of a married woman was the *iḷi*⁴⁹ now made of gold and of a peculiar shape. Probably the original *iḷi* was made of the teeth or claws of the bear or the tiger⁵⁰ killed by the husband in the chase. It may be noted that

¹Other names for the hair that adorns the head of ladies were *aḷagam*, *aimbāl ōḍi*, *kural*, *kuruf*, *kūḷal*, *kūḷal*, *kūḷai*, *kōḍai*, *śurīyal*, *śuruf*, *neḍumai*, *marāṭṭam*; that which grew equally plentifully on men's heads sometimes halfshorn, *iḷai*, *ōṛi*, *kūṇḍi*, *kuḍumi*, *iḷai*, *iṅgal*, *navir*, *pittai*; besides *kaḍuppu*, *kōḷi*, which meant both. உகத்து, அகத்து, கீழ்ப்பாக்கு, துளி, குரல், குருக், குழல், கரல், கழல், கேரத்த, கரீயல், கருத், கேடுமை, மரட்டம், இலை, தரி, குருதி, குடுமி, தலை, நெய்தல், கரீ, பித்தை. கழப்பு, கேலி.

²சுரவரம். ³மலிக்குடி. ⁴உகதி. ⁵கொண்டை. ⁶கொப்பு. ⁷சிகிலை. ⁸தமிழம். ⁹முடி. ¹⁰மஞ்சள். ¹¹சந்தனக்குழம்பு. ¹²தேயை. ¹³சரத்து. ¹⁴தேயில். ¹⁵தொப்பில். ¹⁶தேயம். ¹⁷தொப்பை. ¹⁸அணி. ¹⁹ஆர். ²⁰குடு. ²¹புனை. ²²புண். ²³மலை. ²⁴மிலை. ²⁵தேயம். ²⁶மலை. ²⁷வரி. ²⁸அணி. ²⁹தணிவம். ³⁰ஆரம். ³¹இமை. ³²நகை. ³³பணி. ³⁴புண். ³⁵மஞ்சள். ³⁶மரட்டம். ³⁷பாக்கி. ³⁸தோடு. ³⁹கழை. ⁴⁰தலை. ⁴¹தாருகம். ⁴²கடுக்கல். ⁴³கடிப்பம். ⁴⁴குணக்கு. ⁴⁵கொண்டை. ⁴⁶துக்கம். ⁴⁷தொக்கல். ⁴⁸கேடம். ⁴⁹தேயல். ⁵⁰புலிப்பற்குலி. *Kurundogai* 161.

South Indian women of all castes regard the *tali* as the most sacred symbol of marriage, so much so that they will rather die than be without it for a second. But the tying of a *tali* is not according to the Arya canon-law or North Indian practice an essential part of the wedding rite. According to the Arya law taking seven steps (*saptapati*) with the taking of the bride's hand (*pānigrahaṇam*) constitutes the act of marriage and if the bridegroom should die before the *saptapati* is completed, the woman does not become a widow and is fit for marrying another man. But this is not the belief of the women. What can be inferred from this? Either the first Brāhmaṇas of South India were Tamil men affiliated to the Brāhmaṇa priesthood or, if they were all emigrants from North India, they took unto themselves Tamil women as their wives; women being noted for their conservatism, the Tamil custom of tying a *tali* as a symbol of marriage had to be given a premier place in the Brāhmaṇa wedding-rite. It is difficult to believe that, if the first Brāhmaṇa men and women were both foreign emigrants, they borrowed a Tamil custom and made it more important than their Ārya ones. Other important ornaments were strings of gold-thread, pearls, coral, etc., provided with pendants set with gems. They were called *kaḷ*,¹ *tāmam*,² *savi*,³ *saraḍu*,⁴ *koḍi*,⁵ *nān*,⁶ *saṅgili*,⁷ *kayil*,⁸ *kaḍai*,⁹ *kovai*,¹⁰ *toḍar*,¹¹ *kokkuvām*.¹² The pendants besides the *tali*, were *kavaḍi*,¹³ *sarappaḷi*,¹⁴ etc. At the waist were also worn strings of gold or silver, *kuṇṅguṣeri*,¹⁵ *kavāṇani*,¹⁶ *paṭṭigai*,¹⁷ on which were strung little tinkling bells, *sadaṅgai*,¹⁸ *kinḱini*.¹⁹ Ornaments for the ankles were *silambu*,²⁰ *kaḷal*,²¹ *pādagam*.²² They were also furnished with tinkling bells. At the wrists and above the elbows were worn *vaḷai*,²³ literally a circle, *kaṇṇu*,²⁴ a guard, *kaṇṇu*,²⁵ *kurugu*,²⁶ *saṅgu*,²⁷ *sari*,²⁸ *sūḍagam*,²⁹ *toḍi*,³⁰ *vaṇḍu*,³¹ *vaḷḷi*,³² *piḍigam*.³³ Several forms of wristlets, bracelets and anklets were given by kings as a reward for feats of strength or skill. The fingers and toes were ornamented with rings, *mōdiram*,³⁴ *alipili*.³⁵ Women wore a cap of pearls for the mammae,³⁶ which were tied by means of a belt, *mulaikkachchu*.³⁷ Besides human beings, elephants, horses, bulls and even vehicles were heavily decorated.

Here is a description of a highly-decorated cot. 'They take the tusks of the fiercely-fighting elephant, which have dropped of their own accord, and cut the sides till they are of uniform shape and colour, fix between them leaves carved by the sharp chisels of the skilled carpenter. They place all round panels carved with scenes of lion-hunting and lined with many-coloured hairs of tigers; they decorate it with twigs, jasmine and other flowers; they furnish the cot with windows. Then they hang all around the broad cot, curtains made of pearls strung on thread. They tie tapes woven with coloured lines so as to look like the stripes of a tiger. The ends of the legs of the cot are rounded like bowls which look like the breasts of a pregnant woman; above the bowls, the legs are made to look like roots of

¹சரம். ²தரம். ³சலி. ⁴சரடி. ⁵செரடி. ⁶சரண். ⁷சந்திலி. ⁸சயில். ⁹சடை.
¹⁰செரவை. ¹¹செரடர். ¹²செரக்குவரம். ¹³சவடி. ¹⁴சரப்பலி. ¹⁵குறங்குசெறி. ¹⁶சவரணி.
¹⁷பட்டி. ¹⁸சதத்தை. ¹⁹தின்னினி. ²⁰திலம்பு. ²¹தம்பு. ²²பாடகம். ²³வலி. ²⁴சரப்பு.
²⁵செரு. ²⁶செருகு. ²⁷சங்கு. ²⁸சரி. ²⁹சுடகம். ³⁰செரடி. ³¹வண்டு. ³²வச்சி. ³³பிடிசம்.
³⁴மோதிரம். ³⁵ஆழிபிலி. ³⁶குத்தணி செரத்தை *Tiruvāṣagam* ix. 10-1. ³⁷முலைக்கச்சு
Neṇṇelvaḍai 136.

garlic. The bed, stitched thin and broad, was filled with the pure-coloured down of a swan in love ; on it were placed pillows ; on it was spread a sheet, woven with figures of the water-lily and well-starched.¹

AMUSEMENTS

The ancient Tamils were a mirth loving people ; they gave themselves up to merry-making frequently. Till Aryan religious ideas took firm root in their minds in the post-Christian centuries pessimism did not pull them down. They did not indulge in dark cogitations about the evils of earthly existence and seek for means to abolish the present joys of life for securing a future state of unchanging bliss. Their religious rites, *vilavu*² were accompanied by drinking, singing, dancing and dumb show. Their secular amusements were the chase, *veṭṭai*,³ *āṅṅṇagam*⁴, *pābatti*⁵, wrestling, *marpor*⁶, sword play, single stick, *silambam*⁷, racing with chariots, elephants, bulls, etc. *pandayam*,⁸ playing with balls, *ammanai*⁹, *pandu*¹⁰, gambling and playing with shells, *kavaḍi*¹¹, *palagayai*¹², *alagu*¹³, *solli*¹⁴. Music was called *iṣai*¹⁵ or *pāṭṭu*¹⁶, and has been partly discussed under war. Different kinds of tunes, *paṇ*,¹⁷ one at least for each region, was developed. Probably the *paṇ* of *kuṟiñṇi* is the tune called *kuṟiñṇi* to-day. That of *mullai* was perhaps what is now called *madhyamāvati*, for this is also called *brindavana sāranga*. That of *marudam* was perhaps that called *kedāram*, for *kedāram*, like *marudam*, means a ploughed field. The *paṇ* for Neydal was probably that now called *punnāgavarāḷi*, that now used for sailor's songs. Instrumental music was called *pāṇ* and as bards accompanied their songs with playing on the *vāḷ*, they were called *pāṇar*. There were various forms of drums, the beating of which accompanied singing and dancing. Different kinds of measures or volleys were beaten for different occasions. As specimens, the following may be mentioned : *ṇṇukōṭṭayai*,¹⁸ the cattle

¹ பொருதொழி காசு மொழியெயிற் றருகெறித்து
சீருஞ் செம்மைபு மொப்ப வல்லோன்
கூருளிக் குயின்ற வீரிலை யிடையிடுபு
துங்கியன் மகளிர் வீங்குமுலை கடுப்பப்
புடைதிரண் டிருத்த குடத்த விடைதிரண்
டுள்ளி கோன்முதல் பொருத்தி யடிபயமைத்துப்
பேரன் வெய்திய பெரும்பெயர்ப் பாண்டில்
மடைமா னுண்ணிமை பொலியத் தெர்டைமாண்டு
குத்துடைச் சாலேக காற்றிக் குத்தறுத்துப்
புலிப்பொறிக் கொண்ட பூங்கேழித் தட்டத்துத்
தகடுகண் புதையக் கொளீஇத் துகைச்
துட்டுறு பன்மயிர் விளைஇ வயமான்
கெட்டம் பொறித்து வியன்கட் காண்து
முல்லைப் பலபோ துறழப் பூகிரைத்து
மெல்லதின் விரித்த சேக்கை மேம்படத்
துண்புண ரன்னத் துரீறத் துவி
யிணையுண மேம்படப் பாயுண யிட்டுக்
காடி.கொண்ட கறுவுறு கலிக்கத்துத்
தோடமைத் துடி. விரித்த சேக்கை.

Nedunaliyūḍai 117-135.

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| ² விழவு. | ³ வேட்டை. | ⁴ ஆசைகம். | ⁵ பாபத்தி. | ⁶ மற்போர். | ⁷ சிலம்பம். | ⁸ பந்தம். |
| ⁹ ஆம்மாண. | ¹⁰ பந்து. | ¹¹ கவடி. | ¹² பலகதை. | ¹³ அனகு. | ¹⁴ சோழி. | ¹⁵ இசை. |
| ¹⁶ பாட்டு. | ¹⁷ பண். | ¹⁸ ஏறகோப்பறை. | | | | |

ting measure, *murugiyam*¹, measure for *veriyattam*², Muruga ince, *maṇamulaṇu*³, marriage drum, *nellarikiṇai*⁴, harvest drum, *roṭṭupparai*⁵, the drum beaten for dragging cars, *puṇappattupparai*⁶, the drum announcing the king's or a god's going out of the *koil*, *minkoṭṭupparai*⁷, the drum beat announcing a haul of fish, *sūraiṇkoṭṭupparai*⁸, dacoity-drum. Different kinds of noises were also emitted from trumpets to suit various occasions, auspicious and inauspicious, marriage or death processions.

Dancing, *aṭṭam*⁹, *kūttu*¹⁰, was of various kinds. Almost every incident of life had its appropriate dance. *Kūttu*, *kali*¹¹, *kunippu*¹² was a kind of dumb show, in which ideas were expressed by dancing and by elaborate gestures. This was the ancient form of the Tamil drama—the drama where the characters spoke or sang their parts belonged to North India—and is still kept up in Malabar under the name *kathakali*¹³. *Kūttar*¹⁴, *kannular*¹⁵, and *kūttiyar*¹⁶ were elaborately made up. The actresses were women of easy virtue for *kūttiyar* has come to mean harlots. Children's dances were *kummi*¹⁷, *teḷḷenam*¹⁸, *saḷai*¹⁹, *orai*²⁰, etc. Boys played a kind of primitive cricket, in which the bat and the ball were both represented by long and short sticks, *kiṭṭu*²¹, *puḷ*²².

Music was dispensed by wandering bards who were generally famished if they stuck to their homes.

'O *Pāṇan*, whose legs are tired by wandering from place to place like birds in search of fruits on hills which are covered by mist on the cessation of rain, because you have no one to support you in the world surrounded by the sea, and are surrounded by relatives crying for food, whose body is emaciated and whose mouth denounces the learning he has acquired'.²³

Angling was another amusement. The following is a description of angling :—

'The expert angler of the *pāṇar* tribe carries on his shoulders a leather-bag full of bits of meat and sticks it at the end of a string tied to a long bamboo stick; the fish bites the meat hanging at the bent end of the angling-rod and shakes the string; missing it, the *vālai* fish stays with open mouth'.²⁴

Capturing game by means of nets was another favourite amusement.

¹முருகியம். ²வெறியாட்டம். ³மாணமுலவு. ⁴கெல்லரிக்கிணை. ⁵தேரோட்டிப்பறை. ⁶புறப்பாட்டிப்பறை. ⁷மிள்கோட்டிப்பறை. ⁸குறைகோட்டிப்பறை. ⁹ஆட்டம். ¹⁰கத்த. ¹¹கலி. ¹²கூனிப்பு. ¹³கத்தக. ¹⁴கத்தர். ¹⁵கண்ணுலர். ¹⁶கத்தியர். ¹⁷கும்மி. ¹⁸தென்னெனம். ¹⁹சாழல். ²⁰ஓரை. ²¹கிட்டு. ²²புல்.

²³தன்சடல் வரைப்பிற் றுக்குச் பெருது
பெரியிழை துறந்த புனைகலே வுன்றத்துப்
பழுமாச் தேரும் பறவை போலக்
கல்வென் சுற்றமெடு காக்கினித்து நிரிதரும்
புல்வென் வாக்கைப் புலவுவாய்ப் பாண.

Perumbāṇṇṇruppāḍai, 18-22.

²⁴பத்துள் பெய்த கல்கியினி பைத்தோற்
கோங்கல் பாண்மகன் தலைவலித் தியாத்த
கெடுக்கழைத் துண்டி னடுக்க காண்கொளீடுக்
கொடுவா விஞம்பின மடிதலை புலம்பப்
பொறிபொ கதுவிய போழுவாய் வான.

Perumbāṇṇṇruppāḍai, 283-287.

'Hard-eyed hunters fix closely woven nets on the thorns of the hedges of fields in Pālai land and drive into them rabbits which have long ears like the outer petals of the thorny-stalked lotus, they then proceed along with dogs whose jaws are wide-open, beat the shrubs and hunt the rabbit and eat them'.¹

Trials of strength by wrestling was also a common amusement among the Tamils; the following is a description of *marpor*, wrestling² :—

In Āmūr which produces sweet and strong liquor he overcame the great strength of the wrestler; he bent one of his knees and planted it on his adversary's chest; with the other leg he defeated the tactics, bent the back of his rival; as an elephant which tries to eat a bamboo, he hammered his rival's head and feet and conquered him: may Tittan the heroic father of the wrestler see the sight, whether it would please him or not.

MEANS OF TRANSPORT

Walking was the only means of transport in nomad times. Modern anthropological opinion is coming round to the view that the Stone Age man was a great wanderer from the earliest times and that there was much intercourse between Asia and Africa on the one hand, and Europe and even America on the other, if not as much as there is in these days of the steam engine. The primitive nomad, hide-clad or sky-clad, shouldered his tools and walked from country to country and spread the different stages of palæolithic culture all over the world. The motive for this travel was perhaps quest for food and the necessity for avoiding climatic rigour; or perhaps it was merely due to wanderlust and to the non-development of house building and of the habit of storing wealth, and living in one place to guard it from enemies. With the building of permanent habitations and the development of a love of luxury man began to make vehicles. The earliest kind of vehicle was the cart, *vaṇḍil*³ also called *ūrdi*,⁴ *olugai*⁵, *śagadu*⁶, *śadu*,⁷ *vaiyam*.⁸ *Vaṇḍil* now shortened into *vaṇḍi* literally means the bent place, from root of *vaḷ* to bend, whence *vaḷai*⁹ to surround, to besiege,

¹ பருவாய் குமலிடு. ஈடு பைப்புத லெருக்கித்
தொருவாய் வேலித் தொடரவல் மரட்டி
முன்னரைத் . ஈமரைப் புல்லிதற் புரைபு
கெடுஞ்செலிக் குடமுயல் போக்கற வண்ணிக்
கடுங்கட் கணவச் கடற் கூட்டுண்ணு
மருஞ்சகம்.

Perumbāṇṇārrupbadai, 1.1-117.

² இனிகடுக் கல்வி னுழ ஈரக்கல்
மைத்துடை மல்லன் மதவலி முருக்கி
யொருகாண் மரப்பொதுத் திண்டு டொருகால்
வருதாச் தாங்கிப் பிண்டெதுத் திண்டு
கல்வினும் கல்கா னுவினும் வெல்போரப்
போரருக் தித்தன் காண்கதி லய்ம
பசித்தும் பிண்டமுலும் யாண் போல
விருதல் யொசிய வெற்றிக்
கண்புரு மல்லற் கடத்தரு நிலையே.

Puṇam. 80.

³ வண்டி, 4

ஊர் தி.

⁵ ஒழுக்கை.

⁶ சகடு.

⁷ சாடு.

⁸ வையம்.

⁹ வல்.

to tie, and as a noun, a hole, also bangles, from their circular shape, a discus, a conch, *valaiyam*¹ a tank, a hoop, *vattil*², a basket, a tray, a cup, *vattam*³, a circle, a bull roarer, a shield, a tank, all named from the shape, *vattana*⁴, a circle, a cymbal, *vattu*⁵, a spheroidal pawn used in gambling, *vanangu*⁶, to bow, to adore, *vanar*⁷, an arched roof, *vandu*,⁸ a beetle that wheels round and round, *vali*⁹, whirlwind, *vallam*¹⁰, a round eating tray, *valli*¹¹, a bracelet. From early times the people were familiar with a cart and named its various parts. *Aichchu*¹², the axle tree, *ani*¹³ (a word found also in the *Rig Veda*), *irusu*,¹⁴ *kandu*¹⁵, axle pin, *urulai*¹⁶, *undai*¹⁷, *kal*¹⁸, wheel, *ar*¹⁹, spokes *sudu*²⁰, tyre, *kuyadu*²¹ hub, etc. All parts of the cart were heavily carved.²² The carts were used more for purposes of trade than for travel. Kings and noblemen used a *ter*, car, as already described. The main streets of a city and the roads intended for travel by royal cars were broad. The cars were dragged by bulls, elephants, and in later times by horses. Kings and noblemen also travelled in palanquins, *pallakku*²³, *anigam*²⁴, *tandigai*²⁵; those with gems embedded on them were called *kanjigai*²⁶. Transport on water was by means of boats of several kinds and made in several ways, *kappal*²⁷, *odam*²⁸, *ambi*²⁹, *toni*³⁰, *teppam*³¹, *parisal*³², *padagu*³³, *kalam*³⁴, *udubam*³⁵, *kotam*³⁶, *lollam*³⁷, *pagadu*³⁸, *paduvai*³⁹, *paṭṭi*⁴⁰, *puruvai*⁴¹, *punai*⁴², *midavai*⁴³, *vallam*⁴⁴, *timil*⁴⁵. It needs scarcely be added that the heads of boats were carved in the shape of the face of lions, elephants, horses, etc., and they were called in later times *arimugavambi*⁴⁶, *karimugavambi*⁴⁷, *kudiraimugavambi*⁴⁸ respectively. Boats were made in several ways; thus *teppam* was a float made of logs bound together, *timil*, a catamaran for fishing, *toni*, a wicker work construction covered with hide, *valam*, a dugout, *padagu*, *kappal*, sailing boats and *odam*, one rowed with oars. Sailing boats were furnished with *kumbu*⁴⁹, mast and *pay*⁵⁰, *idai*⁵¹, sails.

Many words were used to indicate a ship: *ambi*,⁵² *oṅgal*,⁵³ *kalam*,⁵⁴ *sadda*,⁵⁵ *songu*,⁵⁶ *timil*,⁵⁷ *lollai*,⁵⁸ *toni*,⁵⁹ *navvu*,⁶⁰ *pāhri*,⁶¹ *pādai*,⁶² *pāradi*,⁶³ *pāru*,⁶⁴ *punai*,⁶⁵ *podam*,⁶⁶ *madalai*,⁶⁷ *vangam*,⁶⁸ *poi*.⁶⁹ The Tamils ought to have been very familiar with boats and ships and to have constantly used them for purposes of transport by water, before they were prompted to invent nearly twenty names for it. The eastern and western coast lines were in olden days dotted with numerous ports, many of which have become useless on account of the retreat of the sea and almost all of which have become deserted by the modern developments of commercial intercourse by sea.

1 வலையம். 2 வட்டிடி. 3 வட்டம். 4 வட்டணை. 5 வட்டி. 6 வணக்கு. 7 வணர். 8 வலரடு. 9 வலி.
10 வளம். 11 வள்ளி. 12 வச்சு. 13 ஆணி. 14 இஞ்சு. 15 கச்சு. 16 உருநீர். 17 உருண்டை.
18 கால். 19 ஆர். 20 குடு. 21 குறடு.

22 கருவி பொருத கடுவரம் கோனருந்த
டாரு குந்த வயிலவாய் கோமி

Sirupāṇṇirrupadai, 252-253.

The wheel whose tyre went round felloes inserted in a hub on which figures were carved with a sharp chisel.

23 பல்லக்கு. 24 அணிசம். 25 தண்டணை. 26 கஞ்சிகை. 27 கப்பல். 28 ஓடம். 29 அம்பி.
30 தேரணி. 31 ஓதப்பம். 32 பாசல். 33 படகு. 34 கலம். 35 உடுபம். 36 கோலம். 37 தெரர்ணம்.
38 பதா. 39 படுவை. 40 பட்டி. 41 புருவை. 42 புண். 43 மீதலம். 44 வளம். 45 திம்ல்.
46 அரிமுகவம்பி. 47 கரிமுகவம்பி. 48 குதிரைமுகவம்பி. 49 கம்பு. 50 பாய். 51 இதை. 52 அம்பி.
53 ஓத்கல். 54 கலம். 55 சதர. 56 செரக்கு. 57 திம்ல். 58 தெரர்ண. 59 தேரணி. 60 கவு.
61 பகிர். 62 பரதை. 63 பரதி. 64 பாறு. 65 புண். 66 பொதம். 67 மதலை. 68 வளம். 69 பெரதி.

Food

Before discussing the food habits of the ancient Tamils it may be pointed out that Indians, throughout the ages, have been mainly vegetarians. Not that they did not love the taste of meat; on the contrary when they got it they ate it with great delight.¹ Nor did they throw to the dogs the game they hunted, without consuming it themselves. But Indians never made the flesh of animals their staple food like the people of Western Europe. The latter living in countries where cereals cannot be produced in abundance, have been forced by their environment to adopt meat as their chief article of food and add to their dietary a minimum quantity of vegetable substance, because meat by itself is not a perfect food and because they cannot resist nature's urge to consume vegetable products charged with the chlorides, and iodides, the sulphates and phosphates and other salts necessary for the healthy life of a body. To use Indian phraseology, meat is their food and vegetable their curry; that is they eat meat to sustain their bodies and cereals and other vegetarian food to add relish to their meat. In India the position is reversed. Rice, wheat, the millets and the pulses are our food, and meat (and green-vegetables) our curry; that is we eat rice or wheat or millet and the seeds of legumes to rebuild tissue lost by combustion, and meat and green vegetables turned into curry to add relish to the cereals which are mostly insipid in themselves and unfitted to stimulate to activity the glands which secrete saliva and other juices necessary for dissolving and digesting starches and proteids. In other words meat is food to Europeans and but curry to Indians. In this connection I may point out that curry, *karri*², is the name in Tamil not only of curried meat or vegetable and of sauce in general, but also

¹ A bard thus describes how he gobbled meat when he was plied with it by a royal patron :

தராயுத் துறிய தருவையம் புழுக்கின்
பரரை வேவை பருகெனத் தண்டிக்
காழிற் கட்டி கோருஞ் கொழுக்குரை
ஆழி னாழின் வாய்கெய் தெரற்றி
பவையவை முனிஞுவ மெனினே கவைய

Porunarāṇṇruppāḍai, 103-107.

'He urged me many times to eat the stout, well boiled loin of a ram fed with bundles of arugu grass (*Agrostis Linearis*). I ate big lumps of fat flesh, roasted at the end of iron spikes, and, as they were hot, shifted them from the right side of the mouth to the left to cool them. I then said we did not require any more boiled or roasted meat.' And again—

கொக்கல புருகொரு வேப்பப் பல்லை
பெயலைபு மிரவு முன்றின்ற மருக்கி
புவிசுப்பிடம் பெறுது துன்னுனிக்கு

Ibid., 117-119.

'Our teeth, on account of eating mear night and day, became blunt like the blade (plough-share) of the plough with which the garden in the back yard is ploughed, and having no place for rest got disgusted with food. And again—

பல்வரைந் தருந் கரையின் மிதப்ப
வயின்ற கால

Ibid., 115-116.

'When I swallowed milk and fried meat till I was filled to the neck.'

² கறி.

means black pepper. This proves that in old times meat and vegetables were boiled with black pepper to turn into curry. In passing I may remark that chilly, *capsicum*, now universally used as a substitute for black pepper in Indian cookery, is a thing introduced into this country from Chili in South America, in recent times, that is, after the rise of modern European trade with India. Hence it has no *idukuri*¹ names as has black pepper, i.e., *miriyal*², *milagu*³, *kari*⁴, *kalinai*⁵, *kayam*⁶, *tirāṅgal*⁷, but merely a *kāraṇapṛaya*⁸, viz., *milagukāy*⁹, the fruit that produces a substance like pepper, in Telugu, *miriyapukāya*, the *miriyam*—fruit. Europeans imported pepper from old India from before the Christian Era, their tongues having been captivated by its biting taste or rather touch, for it is touch nerves and not taste nerves that are titillated by the bite of pepper; hence Sanskrit has a *kāraṇapṛaya*, *yoga*—name for pepper, namely *yavanapriya*, dear to the *yavana*, i.e., the Greeks and the Romans. Though the ancient *yavanas* carried pepper from India in their ships they made a mess of its name, for they did not borrow for it its proper name of *kari*, or *miriyal* or *milagu*, but called it *pippali* (whence *pepperos*, pepper) which is the name of long pepper¹⁰. In the middle ages Western Europe imported pepper from India, not for eating, but for sprinkling its powder on meat before drying it for use as food in wintry weather. Such meat was called 'powdered meat'. Thus pepper was a luxury in ancient Europe and a necessity in mediæval Europe; Venetian bottoms, at first, and later Dutch ones, carried pepper to Western Europe and it was because the avaricious merchants of Holland doubled the price of pepper at the end of the sixteenth century, that in 1599 the East India Company was started, the final result of which was the development of the British Empire in India.

To return to the ancient Tamils. They ate meat, the various names of which *ūn*¹¹, *inaichchi*¹², *pulal*¹³, *tunnu*¹⁴, *ūtai*¹⁵, *ūttai*¹⁶, *taṣai*¹⁷, *taṭi*¹⁸, *tūvu*¹⁹, *puz*²⁰, *purani*²¹, *pulavu*²², *vallūram*²³, *vidakku*²⁴, indicate their fondness for it, as curry and not as food, just as their modern descendants do. This curry was of various kinds (1) *kuy*²⁵, *talitta kari*²⁶, sprinkled with pepper powder, mustard, etc., fried in oil; (2) *karunai*²⁷, *porikkari*²⁸, *varai*²⁹, *tuvaṭṭaṭṭakari*³⁰, fried meat; (3) *tuvai*³¹, *pulingari*³², meat boiled with tamarind and pepper. While on the subject of *kari* I may mention also *kadi*³³, *ṛukari*³⁴, pickles, fruits soaked in oil or water with flavouring substances.³⁵

The Aryas of North India were as great lovers of meat as were the Tamils of South India. From the evidence of the Vedic mantras we

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35பைத்துரை

செந்நெல் கொக்கி ஓதுவது. விநித்த
தனகாண் காடி.

Perumtūnarruppaḍai, 308-310

The sweet-smelling tender clustered fruit of the mango, preserved.

learn that 'horses',¹, 'bulls',², 'buffaloes',³, 'rams',⁴, and 'goats',⁵ were killed on slaughter-benches, *sūnā*,⁶, cooked in caldrons,⁷ and eaten. The eating of fishes and birds must have also prevailed because fishing and bird-catching are referred to.⁸ In North India there was developed a prejudice against eating the village-fowl, because it feeds on all kinds of repulsive offal; such a prejudice does not seem to have ever risen in South India. In early times there was no sentiment against beef-eating in North India. In the later Vedic age the objection to the eating the flesh of the bull and the cow first arose. Says the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 'Let him not eat (the flesh) of either the cow or the ox; for the cow and the ox doubtless support everything here on earth. The Gods spake, 'verily the cow and the ox support everything here: Come, let us bestow on the cow and the ox whatever belongs to other species; accordingly they bestowed on the cow and the ox whatever vigour belonged to other species of animals; and therefore the cow and the ox eat most. Hence were one to eat the flesh of an ox or of a cow, there would be as it were an eating of everything, or as it were a going on to the end or to destruction. Such a one indeed would be likely to be born again as a strange being (as one of whom there is) evil report, such as he has expelled an embryo from a woman, he has committed a sin; let him therefore not eat the flesh of the cow and the ox. Nevertheless Yājñavalkya said, 'I for one eat it, provided that it is tender.'⁹ Yājñavalkya Rishi, who probably belonged to the early years of the first millennium B.C. was not frightened by the threat that the eating of beef was tantamount to the dreaded sin of *brāṇahatti*; hence the virulent disgust at the very idea of beef-eating that is the marked characteristic of the Hindus to-day is less than of three thousand years' standing. South Indians too of ancient times did not seem to have had much objection to eat the flesh of the cow. As was the case with all other things they liked, they had several names for beef, viz., *vallūram*¹⁰, *śuṭṭiraichchi*¹¹, *śuṣiyam*¹², *paḍittiram*.¹³ In later times the objection to beef-eating became violent all through India except among the depressed classes, whose social degradation made them so poor and so incapable of earning enough food that they had no objection to meat of any kind—the flesh of the cow or the buffalo and even the flesh of animals that have died on account of disease. Among the other classes the sentiment against beef-eating developed primarily on account of economical causes. The above is plainly indicated by the remark in the passage from the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* that 'were one to eat the flesh of an ox or a cow, there would be as it were, a going on to the end or to destruction'; besides the need of cattle for agriculture, other reasons were the wide use of milk and milk products in Indian dietary and the moral reason, i.e., the love inspired by the meek and gentle-eyed cow.

The chief cereal used by the Tamils was the paddy *nel*¹⁴, *varz*¹⁵, the names of various varieties of which existed, such as *senjāli*¹⁶, *sennel*¹⁷,

¹A.V. vi. 71, 1. ²R. V. 1. 164. 43. ³R.V. v. 29. 7. ⁴R.V., x. 27. 17.

⁵A.V. i. 162-3. ⁶R.V. x. 86. 18. ⁷R.V. iii. 53. 22.

⁸P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, *Life in Ancient India*, p. 49.

⁹S.B. iii 1. 2. 21, Eggeling's Translation, ii, p. 11.

¹⁰வல்லூர், ¹¹சுட்டிரைச்சி, ¹²சுசியம், ¹³படித்திரம், ¹⁴நெல், ¹⁵வர, ¹⁶சென்ஜலி, ¹⁷சென்னல்.

means black pepper. This proves that in old times meat and vegetables were boiled with black pepper to turn into curry. In passing I may remark that chilly, *capsicum*, now universally used as a substitute for black pepper in Indian cookery, is a thing introduced into this country from Chili in South America, in recent times, that is, after the rise of modern European trade with India. Hence it has no *idukuri*¹ names as has black pepper, i.e., *miriyal*², *milagu*³, *kari*⁴, *kalinai*⁵, *kayam*⁶, *tirāṅgal*⁷, but merely a *kāraṇapṇeyar*⁸, viz., *milagukāy*⁹, the fruit that produces a substance like pepper, in Telugu, *miriyapukāya*, the *miriyam*—fruit. Europeans imported pepper from old India from before the Christian Era, their tongues having been captivated by its biting taste or rather touch, for it is touch nerves and not taste nerves that are titillated by the bite of pepper; hence Sanskrit has a *kāraṇapṇeyar*, *yoga*—name for pepper, namely *yavanapriyā*, dear to the *yavana*, i.e., the Greeks and the Romans. Though the ancient *yavanas* carried pepper from India in their ships they made a mess of its name, for they did not borrow for it its proper name of *kari*, or *miriyal* or *milagu*, but called it *pippali* (whence *pepperos*, pepper) which is the name of long pepper¹⁰. In the middle ages Western Europe imported pepper from India, not for eating, but for sprinkling its powder on meat before drying it for use as food in wintry weather. Such meat was called 'powdered meat'. Thus pepper was a luxury in ancient Europe and a necessity in mediæval Europe; Venetian bottoms, at first, and later Dutch ones, carried pepper to Western Europe and it was because the avaricious merchants of Holland doubled the price of pepper at the end of the sixteenth century, that in 1599 the East India Company was started, the final result of which was the development of the British Empire in India.

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35பைத்துணர்

செந்நெல் கொக்கி ஓதுவது. விநித்த
தனகாண் காடி.

Perumtūnarruppaḍai, 308-310

The sweet-smelling tender clustered fruit of the mango, preserved.

tēn and *tinai ma*¹ being a favourite combination; *vellam*², *akkaram*³ jaggery, was substituted for honey in Marudam, sugar was not freely used, it being originally a product imported from China; there is no *idukuri* name for it in Sanskrit or Tamil; Sanskrit *sarkkara* (whence European names of sugar are derived) as well as Tamil *ayir*,⁴ sugar, originally meant sand and were, by metonymy, extended to jaggery refined into a powdery form. Jaggery was manufactured by boiling down the juice of the sugar-cane, *karumbu*⁵, also called *kalai*⁶, *kannal*⁷, *velal*⁸, to molasses, *tēlal*⁹, *tēnpāgu*¹⁰, *kuḷambu*¹¹, *anam*,¹² and cooled in pots or wooden moulds, *achchu*.

Milk and milk products were used largely. The chief milk products were *ēdu*¹³, cream, *ṭayir*¹⁴, *perugu*¹⁵, *musaru*¹⁶, curdled milk, *mōr*¹⁷, *arumbam*¹⁸, *alai*¹⁹, *machchigai*²⁰, *muṣar*²¹, curdled milk from which butter has been churned out, *venney*²², *venkatti*²³, butter, and *ney*²⁴, ghi. It is curious that though ghi is clarified butter, the name for the latter is derived from the former, for *venney* is but white ghi. The cause of this order of naming the original article from the derived one is not quite clear; probably as butter cannot keep without getting rancid in tropical climates, it was never stored, but immediately after it was churned out, it was turned into ghi and the necessity for a name for the intermediate product was not felt for a long time.

That in the matter of food Aryan India and Tamil India had absolutely the same customs is proved by the fact that meat of all kinds was eaten both in the North and the South and by the following account of Arya food, other than meat. 'Of the animal food derived from the living animal, milk²⁵ sometimes mixed with honey²⁶ brought by toiling bees²⁷, ghi²⁸, butter²⁹ and curds³⁰ were consumed. Yava is frequently mentioned in the sense of corn in general or barley. (Wheat and barley were the grains used by the Aryas in addition to the South Indian ones). Rice, barley, beans and sesamum were the chief vegetable foodstuffs of the day.³¹ Grain was eaten parched³² and made into cakes³³ or boiled in water³⁴ or in milk.³⁵ Meal boiled with curd into Karambha³⁶ and gruel,³⁷ i.e., parched meal boiled in milk were other forms of food. . . . As now hot freshly cooked food was preferred³⁸ to cold food. Fruits were also eaten.³⁹ Food was served on leaf-platters,⁴⁰ the lotus leaf being commonly used for the purpose. Skins filled with honey⁴¹ or curds, jars⁴² of honey,⁴³ rice husked by servant-girls⁴⁴ and stored in earthen vessels⁴⁵ and flour obtained by grinding corn in mill stones,⁴⁶ were stocked in houses.⁴⁷ This shows that the difference between Arya and Dasyu was neither racial nor cultural but only one of cult.

¹தேனுநினைமையும். ²பவசலம். ³அக்காரம். ⁴அயிர். ⁵சுருப்பு. ⁶சைதை. ⁷சுண்ணல். ⁸கேழம். ⁹தேதல். ¹⁰தேத்பாரு. ¹¹குழம்பு. ¹²ஆணம். ¹³எடு. ¹⁴தயிர். ¹⁵பெருகு. ¹⁶முசர். ¹⁷மோர். ¹⁸அரும்பம். ¹⁹அலை. ²⁰மச்சிசை. ²¹முசர். ²²வெண்ணெய். ²³வெண்கட்டி. ²⁴நெய். ²⁵R. V. x. 49, 10. ²⁶R. V. viii. 4, 8. ²⁷R. V. x. 106, 9. ²⁸R. V. iv. 58. ²⁹Sarpis, A. V. ix. 6, 41. ³⁰R. V. vi. 57, 2. ³¹A. V. vi. 140, 4. ³²Dhānā, R. V. iii. 35, 3. ³³Apūpam, R. V. iii. 52, 7; Puroḍṣam, A. V. xii. 4, 35. ³⁴Odanam, A. V. iii. 34, 35. ³⁵R. V. viii. 66, 10. ³⁶A. V. iv. 7, 2. ³⁷Mantha, A. V. x. 6, 2. ³⁸R. V. x. 79, 3. ³⁹R. V. i. 90, 8. ⁴⁰A. V. viii. 10, 27. ⁴¹R. V. iv. 45, 3, 4. ⁴²R. V. vi. 49, 18. ⁴³R. V. i. 117, 6. ⁴⁴A. V. xii. 3, 13. ⁴⁵Drishat, A. V. ii. 31, 1. ⁴⁶A. V. vi. 142, 1. ⁴⁷P. T. Srinivas Iyengar, *Life in Ancient India*, p. 49.

means black pepper. This proves that in old times meat and vegetables were boiled with black pepper to turn into curry. In passing I may remark that chilly, *capsicum*, now universally used as a substitute for black pepper in Indian cookery, is a thing introduced into this country from Chili in South America, in recent times, that is, after the rise of modern European trade with India. Hence it has no *idukuri*¹ names as has black pepper, i.e., *miriyal*², *milagu*³, *kari*⁴, *kalinai*⁵, *kayam*⁶, *tirāṅgal*⁷, but merely a *kāraṇapṇeyar*⁸, viz., *milagukāy*⁹, the fruit that produces a substance like pepper, in Telugu, *miriyapukāya*, the *miriyam*—fruit. Europeans imported pepper from old India from before the Christian Era, their tongues having been captivated by its biting taste or rather touch, for it is touch nerves and not taste nerves that are titillated by the bite of pepper; hence Sanskrit has a *kāraṇapṇeyar*, *yoga*—name for pepper, namely *yavanapriyā*, dear to the *yavana*, i.e., the Greeks and the Romans. Though the ancient *yavanas* carried pepper from India in their ships they made a mess of its name, for they did not borrow for it its proper name of *kari*, or *miriyal* or *milagu*, but called it *pippali* (whence *pepperos*, pepper) which is the name of long pepper¹⁰. In the middle ages Western Europe imported pepper from India, not for eating, but for sprinkling its powder on meat before drying it for use as food in wintry weather. Such meat was called 'powdered meat'. Thus pepper was a luxury in ancient Europe and a necessity in mediæval Europe; Venetian bottoms, at first, and later Dutch ones, carried pepper to Western Europe and it was because the avaricious merchants of Holland doubled the price of pepper at the end of the sixteenth century, that in 1599 the East India Company was started, the final result of which was the development of the British Empire in India.

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35பைத்துணர்

செநெரக் கொக்கி னுழலடி. விநித்த
தனகரண் காடி.

Perumtūnarruppaḍai, 308-310

The sweet-smelling tender clustered fruit of the mango, preserved.

products of the tops of hills (such as sandal, *agil*, gold, gems, etc.)'.¹ Of the hunters it is said :

' They drink the sweet rice-liquor, *toppi*, brewed in their houses ; they cut in the open field the strong bull and eat its meat. The drum faced with folded hides sounds and they lift the left arm, strong with the constant bending of the bow, place it around the right side and dance all day with glee.'²

The food of the *Āyar* is thus described :—

' Early in the morning when the thick darkness begins to disappear and birds rise from their sleep, *Idaiyar* women ply with the rope the churning-rod, *mattu*,³ with a noise like the grunt of a tiger ; they churn the milk with folded crust, having been curdled by the curds reserved for the purpose, *uṟai*,⁴ which looks like the white mushroom, and remove the butter ; they place a pad of flowers, *summaḍu*,⁵ on their heads and stand thereon a pot of buttermilk, whose mouth is sprinkled with drops of curds and sell it in the mornings. They are dark of skin ; at their ears dangle earrings ; their shoulders are like the bamboo ; their hair is short and wavy. They feast their relatives with rice bartered for buttermilk. Then they sell ghi and buy gold and milch buffaloes and cows and calves. If you stay with the *Idaiyar* with hanging lips, they will feast you with *tinai*,⁶ which looks like the young of crabs, boiled with milk. Their strong feet are scarred with constant wearings of sandals ; their hands lean on sticks with which they cruelly beat the cattle ; and are horny with handling the axes which fell trees ; their shoulders, scarred and hairy by carrying *Kāvaḍi*⁷ with double hanging loops ; their hair, smelling because they wipe the head with hands full of milk-drops. They wear garlands of mixed flowers, *Kalambagam*,⁸ plucked from trees and plants growing in the forests ;

¹ ஏறித் தருக மிலங்குமலைத் தரமொடு
வேப்பப்பெயல் விளையுட் டேக்கட் டேறல்
குறவீனர்ப் பருதி கறவுமமிழ்த்து-வைகறைப்
பழஞ்செருக் குற்றதும் மணத்த நீர்
வருவி தத்த பழஞ்சிதை வெண்கார்ப்
வருவினை தவித்த கடமான் கொழுக்குறை
முனவுமாத் தொலச்சிய பைத்தினைப் பினைவ
பினைவுசாய் முடுக்கிய தடியொடு வினைஇ
வெண்புடைக் கொண்ட துய்த்தலைப் பழனி
னின் புலிக் கலத்து மரமோ ராகக்
கறைவனச் செல்லி னரிபுலி யூற்றது
வழையமை சாரல் சமழத் துறழ்நி
நறுமல ரணித்த காறிது முச்சிக்
குறமக னாக்கிய வரலிவ் வல்லி
யகமலீ புலகை யார்க்கொ டனைஇ
மகமுறை தடுப்ப மனைதொறும் பெறுவீர்.

Malaiapaḍukaḍam, 170-185.

² இல்லரடு கன்னின் நோப்பி பருதி
மல்லன் மன்றத்து மதவிடை சென்றடி.
மடிவாய்த் தன்னனுமை கடுவட் டிலைப்பச்
இலைகவி லெழும்ந்தோ ரோச்சி வலன்வகையூடப்
பகன் மகிழ் தூக்கும்.

Perumbāṇṇṟuṟpaḍai, 142-146.

³ மத்து.

⁴ உரை.

⁵ சம்பாடு.

⁶ தினை.

⁷ காவடி.

⁸ கலம்பகம்.

means black pepper. This proves that in old times meat and vegetables were boiled with black pepper to turn into curry. In passing I may remark that chilly, *capsicum*, now universally used as a substitute for black pepper in Indian cookery, is a thing introduced into this country from Chili in South America, in recent times, that is, after the rise of modern European trade with India. Hence it has no *idukuri*¹ names as has black pepper, i.e., *miriyal*², *milagu*³, *kari*⁴, *kalinai*⁵, *kayam*⁶, *tirāṅgal*⁷, but merely a *kāraṇappeyar*⁸, viz., *milagukāy*⁹, the fruit that produces a substance like pepper, in Telugu, *miriyapukāya*, the *miriyam*—fruit. Europeans imported pepper from old India from before the Christian Era, their tongues having been captivated by its biting taste or rather touch, for it is touch nerves and not taste nerves that are titillated by the bite of pepper; hence Sanskrit has a *kāraṇapēyar*, *yoga*—name for pepper, namely *yavanapriyā*, dear to the *yavana*, i.e., the Greeks and the Romans. Though the ancient *yavanas* carried pepper from India in their ships they made a mess of its name, for they did not borrow for it its proper name of *kari*, or *miriyal* or *milagu*, but called it *pippali* (whence *pepperos*, pepper) which is the name of long pepper¹⁰. In the middle ages Western Europe imported pepper from India, not for eating, but for sprinkling its powder on meat before drying it for use as food in wintry weather. Such meat was called 'powdered meat'. Thus pepper was a luxury in ancient Europe and a necessity in mediæval Europe; Venetian bottoms, at first, and later Dutch ones, carried pepper to Western Europe and it was because the avaricious merchants of Holland doubled the price of pepper at the end of the sixteenth century, that in 1599 the East India Company was started, the final result of which was the development of the British Empire in India.

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35பைத்துணர்

செவ்வக கொக்கி ஓதுவது. விநித்த
தகைமான் காடி.

Perumtūnarruppaḍai, 308-310

The sweet-smelling tender clustered fruit of the mango, preserved.

kumpatti,¹ into which was poked a *śuṇḍu*,² stalk sometimes tipped with sulphur.

Salt was manufactured on a large scale. Salt-fields have several names: *uppaḷam*,³ *aḷakkar*,⁴ *vvarkkaḷam*,⁵ *uvalagam*,⁶ *kali*.⁷ These names prove that salt-manufacture was an extensive industry, a fact which we could have inferred otherwise also, because the large use of vegetable food and especially of curries of innumerable kinds and of the many varieties of pickles to tempt the palate and satisfy its craving and to render rice and pulses tasty, requires the free use of salt.

The food of Northern and Southern India has remained unchanged for five thousand years and more. But the necessities of modern commerce have begun to alter it in many respects. Old ways of preparing foodstuffs and cooking them are giving way to new ones; the old methods of boiling and pounding paddy with the hand preserved the proteids and vitamins necessary for health and strength; but the new methods of hulling by machinery and polishing unboiled paddy are giving rise to the widespread diseases of civilization—tuberculosis and diabetes and to general enfeeblement. The old custom of eating leaf-curry and fruits cooked with their skins is giving way to modern refinements in cookery, and tinned provisions are taking the place of freshly made ones, so that the health of the people is steadily degenerating. The old forms of food were the result of thousands of years of experience, whereas the new ones, supposed to raise the standard of living, are really refined methods of committing slow suicide.

AGRICULTURE

Says Prof. G. Elliot Smith, 'I suppose most people would be prepared to admit that the invention of agriculture was the beginning of civilization. It involved a really settled society and the assurance of a food supply. Hence it created the two conditions without which there could have been no real development of arts and crafts and the customs of an organized form of society.'⁸ Prof. Smith is of opinion that agriculture was developed in Egypt with the sowing of barley about ten thousand years ago and thence spread to other parts of the world. At about the same or perhaps a few millenniums earlier, as stone tools testify, the cultivation of paddy and the weaving of cotton began in the plains of South India. Hence the rise of Indian agriculture was not consequent on its development in Egypt.

Agriculture was the main industry of Ancient India, as it is to-day. It was carried on chiefly in the lower reaches of rivers where irrigation by means of canals is possible. Thus in the *Śoḷa* country, *Śonādu*,⁹ the fertile delta of the *Kāviri*, even to-day the granary of South India and the island of Ceylon, was the main scene of agricultural operations. In the *Pāṇḍya nāḍu*, in the valleys of the *Vaigai* and the *Tāmrarparṇi* wet cultivation was carried on. In the *Śēra nāḍu* which looked up to the sky for irrigation, the strip of coast west of the ghats where the rain it raineth every day during the monsoons, was devoted to this early industry of Indian man. In

¹கும்பட்டி.

²சுண்டி.

³உப்பளம்.

⁴அலக்கர்.

⁵வர்க்களம்.

⁶உவளம்.

⁷கலி.

⁸*Nature*, Jan. 15, 1927, p. 8.

⁹சோழநாடு.

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35பைத்துரை

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தனகாரன் காடி.

Perumtūnarruppaṭai, 308-310

The sweet-smelling tender clustered fruit of the mango, preserved.

for several months in the year, patient endurance of the rheumatic pains, chills and other ills due to standing upto the knees in water and trudging on wet sticky clay; this has made the Indian farmer a model of unfailing patience and enduring perseverance, and contributed to the development of what is miscalled fatalistic acceptance of misfortune. When the harvest was over and his granaries filled, he either gave himself up to the festivities of the post-harvest season, eating and drinking, singing and dancing, decorating his person with flowers and love-making developed as a fine art, or to martial exercises. In every village there was a field, *kaḷam*,¹ set apart for these purposes.² Another virtue of the farmer was his readiness to pay the king's taxes. All the world over, people are unwilling to pay taxes and many regard it almost as a virtue to evade payment of taxes. How is it then that the ancient Tamil landowner was differently constituted to modern men? The reason of this was the fact that taxes were payable in kind. A man with a well-filled granary easily parts with a portion of his abundance, all the more so because wealth in grains does not increase, but decreases with keeping; but it is hard to part with specie, as it will keep all right for any length of time, and, if properly invested, barren metal will breed as fast as cattle and sheep, as Shylock well knew. Paying taxes in gold and silver is more difficult, especially if the purse is as ill-filled as generally the Indian farmer's purse is and if one has to borrow for paying taxes.

All the other virtues of the Vellālar are but different forms of charity. It has already been explained how one who has a large store of cereals is easily induced to enjoy the pleasure of seeing his fellow-men feed on his substance. Numerous poetical names signifying *vēlālar* exist. They are *maṇmagal pudalvar*,³ sons of the earth-goddess, *valamaiyar*,⁴ the flourishing, *kaḷamar*,⁵ owners of fields, *maḷḷar*,⁶ the strong, *kāviriṭṭupudalvar*,⁷ sons of the Kāviri, *uḷavar*,⁸ tillers, *mēḷiyar*,⁹ ploughmen, *ēriṇvāḷnar*,¹⁰ those that live by the plough, *iḷango*,¹¹ prince, *pinnavar*,¹² perhaps those that are behind *manṇavar*,¹³ *perukkālar*,¹⁴ those that increase wealth, or those that utilize the food, *vinaiṇar*,¹⁵ toilers.

There was a wealth of vocabulary attached to each detail of agricultural operations. Ploughing was *uḷavu*,¹⁶ *toyvil*,¹⁷ hoeing, *kottudal*,¹⁸ trampling, *uḷakkudal*,¹⁹ *midittal*,²⁰ *maḍidal*,²¹ manure,

¹களம்.

²மன்னர் குழியுய விழவினாறு

மகனித் தழியுய துணைக்கை யானும்

யான்கெடு கரணென் மரண்டக் கோன்

யானுமோ ரரணென் மகனெ பென்னக்க

கோம. சிலக்கு வண் செழித்த

படுகொழு குசியுமோ ரரணென் மகனெ

Kurundogai, 31.

I have searched for him in the places where heroes congregate (for martial exercises); and where women gather for the *ṭunangai* but have not seen the magnificent hero; hence I am but a woman of the theatre *āḍukaḷam* (ஆடுகலம்); the great hero too who has caused my bright bent bangles cut from conch shell to slip, is also a man of the theatre.

³மண்மகர்புதல்வர். ⁴வளையையர். ⁵களமர். ⁶மலவர். ⁷தாமிரப்பதல்வர். ⁸உழவர். ⁹மேழவர்.

¹⁰சைநீசுவரபுதல்வர். ¹¹இளங்கோ. ¹²பின்னவர். ¹³மன்னவர். ¹⁴பெருக்காரர். ¹⁵விண்ணார். ¹⁶உழவு.

¹⁷தொழவு. ¹⁸கொத்துதல். ¹⁹உழுக்குதல். ²⁰தித்தல். ²¹மடிதல்.

eru,¹ *uram*,² *kuppai*,³ *kūlam*,⁴ and so on. Different names were given for the fields other than that used for wet cultivation. A garden was *toṭṭam*,⁵ *tudavai*,⁶ *paḍappai*,⁷ *toppu*,⁸ *solai*,⁹ *taṇḍalai*,¹⁰ (flower-garden), *kollai*,¹¹ (generally a kitchen-garden behind a house). High land was *tagar*,¹² *taray*,¹³ *meṇḍu*,¹⁴ *ōṅgal*,¹⁵ *karu*,¹⁶ *kuppai*,¹⁷ *kuval*,¹⁸ *kuvai*,¹⁹ *suval*,²⁰ *tiḍar*,²¹ *tiṭṭu*,²² *tiṭṭai*,²³ *paḍar*,²⁴ *miṣai*,²⁵ *vallai*,²⁶ *vanbal*,²⁷ *murambu*:²⁸ this was so variously named, probably because it gave much trouble to the cultivator who had to level it before tilling it. The low land was also variously named, *paḷḷam*,²⁹ *aval*,³⁰ *iḷivu*,³¹ *kilakku*,³² *kīl*,³³ *kūl*,³⁴ *kūval*,³⁵ *ṇēḷḷal*,³⁶ *tāḷvu*,³⁷ *paḍugar*,³⁸ *payambu*.³⁹

The chief implement of the farmer was the plough; so he lovingly gave it numerous names, *kalappai*,⁴⁰ *idai*,⁴¹ *uḷupaḍai*,⁴² *kalanai*,⁴³ *ṇāṇṇil*,⁴⁴ *toḍuppu*,⁴⁵ *paḍai*,⁴⁶ *paḍaiṇḍal*.⁴⁷ The ploughshare was made of wood in the stone age and of steel in the iron age; both kinds are in use even to-day. The other important implement was the knife; it, too, had numerous names, *vāl*,⁴⁸ *uvani*,⁴⁹ *ēdi*,⁵⁰ *kaḍittalai*,⁵¹ *tuvatti*,⁵² *naviram*,⁵³ *naṭṭam*,⁵⁴ *vaṇṇam*,⁵⁵ *kuyal*,⁵⁶ *kulir*;⁵⁷ short knives were called *kuṇumbiḍi*,⁵⁸ *surigai*,⁵⁹ one that could be bent into the handle, *ṣuri*.⁶⁰

An extensive system of irrigation was practised; rivers were furnished with a complete dam, *anai*.⁶¹ or a partial dam, *korambu*,⁶² and the water diverted into a *kal*,⁶³ *kalvay*,⁶⁴ or *vaykkal*.⁶⁵ Or water was raised from ponds or wells by means of an *ērṇam*⁶⁶ or *kabilai*.⁶⁷ or *iyaiḱuḍai*.⁶⁸ The latter was the most common means of raising water and had numerous names, *ambi*,⁶⁹ *iḍar*,⁷⁰ *iyaiṇḍai*,⁷¹ *karambi*,⁷² *kilar*,⁷³ *pilar*,⁷⁴ *puttil*,⁷⁵ *putṭai*,⁷⁶ *paṭṭai*,⁷⁷ and conducted by means of a sluice, *maḍai*,⁷⁸ to higher levels and distributed to fields.

Here is a description of ploughing.—‘The plough men, who raise food for many people, yoke trained oxen to the plough, whose front looks like the mouth of a female elephant, press it on the ground so that the ploughshare which looks like the face of the iguana, is buried in the earth. They plough round and round, then sow seeds and then weed the field. When the harvest season is near, the quail with short feet and black neck with its young, white and smelling like the

1. எரு.	2. உரம்.	3. குப்பை.	4. கிலம்.	5. தொட்டம்.	6. தண்டை.
7. பட்டம்பை.	8. தொட்டம்.	9. செரு.	10. தண்டை.	11. தொட்டம்.	12. தட்டை.
13. தட்டை.	14. தொட்டம்.	15. தட்டை.	16. தட்டை.	17. தொட்டம்.	18. தட்டை.
19. தொட்டம்.	20. தட்டை.	21. தட்டை.	22. தட்டை.	23. தொட்டம்.	24. தட்டை.
25. தொட்டம்.	26. தட்டை.	27. தட்டை.	28. தொட்டம்.	29. தொட்டம்.	30. தட்டை.
31. தொட்டம்.	32. தொட்டம்.	In the Kāviri valley which slopes from West to East <i>kīl</i> and <i>kilakku</i> , lit. lowland and <i>mēl</i> , <i>merku</i> , highland came to mean East and West respectively.			
33. தொட்டம்.	34. தொட்டம்.	35. தொட்டம்.	36. தொட்டம்.	37. தொட்டம்.	38. தொட்டம்.
39. தொட்டம்.	40. தொட்டம்.	41. தொட்டம்.	42. தொட்டம்.	43. தொட்டம்.	44. தொட்டம்.
45. தொட்டம்.	46. தொட்டம்.	47. தொட்டம்.	48. தொட்டம்.	49. தொட்டம்.	50. தொட்டம்.
51. தொட்டம்.	52. தொட்டம்.	53. தொட்டம்.	54. தொட்டம்.	55. தொட்டம்.	56. தொட்டம்.
57. தொட்டம்.	58. தொட்டம்.	59. தொட்டம்.	60. தொட்டம்.	61. தொட்டம்.	62. தொட்டம்.
63. தொட்டம்.	64. தொட்டம்.	65. தொட்டம்.	66. தொட்டம்.	67. தொட்டம்.	68. தொட்டம்.
69. தொட்டம்.	70. தொட்டம்.	71. தொட்டம்.	72. தொட்டம்.	73. தொட்டம்.	74. தொட்டம்.
75. தொட்டம்.	76. தொட்டம்.	77. தொட்டம்.	78. தொட்டம்.	79. தொட்டம்.	80. தொட்டம்.

for several months in the year, patient endurance of the rheumatic pains, chills and other ills due to standing upto the knees in water and trudging on wet sticky clay; this has made the Indian farmer a model of unfailing patience and enduring perseverance, and contributed to the development of what is miscalled fatalistic acceptance of misfortune. When the harvest was over and his granaries filled, he either gave himself up to the festivities of the post-harvest season, eating and drinking, singing and dancing, decorating his person with flowers and love-making developed as a fine art, or to martial exercises. In every village there was a field, *kaḷam*,¹ set apart for these purposes.² Another virtue of the farmer was his readiness to pay the king's taxes. All the world over, people are unwilling to pay taxes and many regard it almost as a virtue to evade payment of taxes. How is it then that the ancient Tamil landowner was differently constituted to modern men? The reason of this was the fact that taxes were payable in kind. A man with a well-filled granary easily parts with a portion of his abundance, all the more so because wealth in grains does not increase, but decreases with keeping; but it is hard to part with specie, as it will keep all right for any length of time, and, if properly invested, barren metal will breed as fast as cattle and sheep, as Shylock well knew. Paying taxes in gold and silver is more difficult, especially if the purse is as ill-filled as generally the Indian farmer's purse is and if one has to borrow for paying taxes.

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¹களம்.

²மன்னர் குழியுப விழவி குறு.

மகனித் தழியுப துணைக்கை யானும்

யரண்டெல் தரணென் மரண்டக் கோண

யானுமோ ரரென மகனெ பென்னக்க

கோம நிலக்கு வநெ டெகிழ்த்த

படுகெழு குரினெழுமோ ரரென மகனெ

Kurundogai, 31.

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³மண் மகன்புதல்வர். ⁴வளமையர். ⁵களமர். ⁶மலவர். ⁷காவிரிப்புதல்வர். ⁸உழவர். ⁹மேழம்ப.

¹⁰ஏரிவாரமுதர். ¹¹இளங்கோ. ¹²பின்னவர். ¹³மன்னவர். ¹⁴பெருக்காரர். ¹⁵வினைஞர். ¹⁶உழவு.

¹⁷தொய்வி. ¹⁸கொத்துதல். ¹⁹உழக்குதல். ²⁰மிதித்தல். ²¹மடித்தல்.

husbands and guarded them from her wiles. I have failed in these attempts, and she has seduced my lover away from me.¹

More innocent incidents of love also belong to *Marudam*; such as the wailing of a wife when her husband has gone away to a far place after quarrelling with her. 'The sparrows whose wings are like the faded water-lily with petals shrunk and folded, and which reside in the roofs of houses, eat the paddy and the other grains spread for drying in the front yard of houses; they make holes in the slender filaments of flowers in the highway. They return to their beds in the roof where they sleep with their young ones. Do not the sad evening and the pains of separation exist where he has gone.'²

PASTURAGE

As agriculture was the chief industry of *Marudam*, pasturage was the chief industry of *Mullai*. The sheep, the goat, the cow, the ox, the buffalo were the chief domestic animals tended by the *Āyar*, herdsmen. Profusion of names for each of these as usual indicates the love the herdsmen felt for their wards. Thus the sheep was called *adu*,³ *uḍu*,⁴ *oruṇu*,⁵ *turuvai*,⁶ *tullai*,⁷ *puruvai*,⁸ *veri*,⁹ the red variety *semmaṟi*,¹⁰ *mottai*,¹¹ *udal*.¹² *ḷḷagam*,¹³ *pallai*,¹⁴ *kaḍa*,¹⁵ *mai*,¹⁶ *koṟi*,¹⁷ *taḡar*,¹⁸ *meḷagam*.¹⁹ The goat was called *velladu*,²⁰ *kaṟadu*,²¹ *kochchai*.²² *vellai*,²³ *vaṟkali*,²⁴ *kuṟumbadu*,²⁵ from the wool of which *kuṟumbar* wove *kambli*s, was also called *varuḍai*,²⁶ *varaiyaḍu*.²⁷ The cow had naturally the largest variety of names, *a*,²⁸ *paṣu*,²⁹ *kuṟam*,³⁰ *kural*,³¹ *kūlam*.³² *kovalam*,³³ *surai*,³⁴ a useless cow was *sudai*,³⁵ a barren cow, *varchai*,³⁶ that which has yeaned once *kitti*,³⁷ *kiruṭṭi*.³⁸ The ox was *erudu*,³⁹ *iṟal*,⁴⁰ *iṟu*,⁴¹ *kundai*,⁴² *kaḷi*,⁴³ *koṭṭiyam*,⁴⁴ *se*,⁴⁵ *ko*,⁴⁶ *nūṇam*,⁴⁷ *paḡaḍu*,⁴⁸ *paṇḍil*,⁴⁹ *paṟal*,⁵⁰ *pullam*,⁵¹

¹ அழகு முழந்தன்று முழவுக்குள்கென்
நெய்தல் குறித்தனன் கொலென்றி யாயிற்
நழை யணிந்தலமரும் மக்குற் நெருவி
வினையே விடுத்த வனைத்தற்குப் பழவிற்
வோரிக் கொன்ற யொருபெருக் தெருவிற்
சாரி புக்க கோரற் புலம்போற்
கல்லைந்தற்கு ஊரே யத்தொன்றெ
காவல் செய்து மரட்டி யாயினேரடி
பெயிர்மர மேனி மகனிற்
விமலாக் தனத்தக்கொழுங்கைக் காந்தே.

Nāṟṟiṇai, 320.

² ஆம்பற் பூவின் சரம்ப வன்ன
கம்பிய நெகச் சினைபுதை குரிஞ்
முன்றி லுணைக்கண் மரத்தி மன்றத்
தெருவி னுண்டாது குடைவன சேடி
யிலுணைப் பன்னித்தம் பிண்டையோடு வதியும்
புஞ்சுண் மரலையும் புலம்பு
மின்றகொ ரேழியவச் சென்ற கரட்டெ

Kuṟundagai, 46.

³ ஆடு, ⁴ உடு, ⁵ ஓருவு, ⁶ துருவை, ⁷ துருங்கு, ⁸ புருவை, ⁹ வெறி, ¹⁰ செம்மறி, ¹¹ கோத்தை, ¹² உதர், ¹³ ஏழைம், ¹⁴ பஞ்சு, ¹⁵ கடர், ¹⁶ மை, ¹⁷ கொறி, ¹⁸ தசர், ¹⁹ மேழைம், ²⁰ வெள்ளாடு, ²¹ சரரி, ²² கொச்சை, ²³ வெஞ்சு, ²⁴ வந்தாவி, ²⁵ குறம்பாடு, ²⁶ வருடை, ²⁷ வளையாடு, ²⁸ ஆ, ²⁹ பாசு, ³⁰ குரம், ³¹ குரவு, ³² கலம், ³³ கோவலம், ³⁴ சரை, ³⁵ சை, ³⁶ வந்தை, ³⁷ கிட்டி, ³⁸ கெட்டி, ³⁹ எருது, ⁴⁰ இருல், ⁴¹ ஏறு, ⁴² குண்டை, ⁴³ கவி, ⁴⁴ கொட்டியம், ⁴⁵ செ, ⁴⁶ செர, In view of the fact that *kōṇ* was a pure Tamil word for a cowherd, I regard *kō* as independent of Sanskrit *gō* the resemblance between the words being absolutely accidental. ⁴⁷ துபம், ⁴⁸ பாகடு, ⁴⁹ பாண்டிகல், ⁵⁰ பரபல், ⁵¹ புகல்வம்.

pūni,¹ *peṇṇam*,² *pottu*,³ *mūri*,⁴ *viḍai*.⁵ Of these names *kālī*⁶ means breeding bull; those which were used by traders for bearing burden, (*podī*)⁷ were called *tūriyam*,⁸ *paḡaḍu*,⁹ and *paṇal*.¹⁰ The buffalo was called *kavari*,¹¹ *kāṇṇu*,¹² *kāṇṇam*,¹³ *mūri*,¹⁴ *mēdi*; ¹⁵ *vaḍavai*,¹⁶ barren ones, *maimai*; ¹⁷ the bull calf of the buffalo, *kuḷavi*,¹⁸ *kanṇu*.¹⁹ Its cow-calf *a*,²⁰ *nāgu*; ²¹ the bull-buffalo, *umbal*,²² *ēṇu*,²³ *oruttal*,²⁴ *paḡaḍu*,²⁵ *pottu*.²⁶ The udder of the cow and of the buffalo, *maḍi*,²⁷ *seruttal*; ²⁸ *maḍu*²⁹ was the general name of both the cow and the buffalo. Intimate acquaintance with animals developed a great love of them and the invention of a number of words relating to them. Thus beasts in general were called *vilāngu*,³⁰ *kuṇṅam*,³¹ *mā*,³² *mān*; ³³ their young ones, *kuṇḷai*,³⁴ *kuṭṭi*,³⁵ *pillai*,³⁶ *maṇi*,³⁷ *kanṇu*,³⁸ *kuḷavi*,³⁹ *pārppu*,⁴⁰ *magavu*.⁴¹ Hornless animals were called *kumaram*,⁴² the horn was *ulavai*,⁴³ *kōḍu*,⁴⁴ *maruppu*; ⁴⁵ the tail, *toḡai*,⁴⁶ *kuḷam*,⁴⁷ *vēṣagam*.⁴⁸

TAME ANIMALS

The tame animals that were of use to man were *mān*,⁴⁹ deer, also named *ulai*,⁵⁰ *ēṇam*,⁵¹ *sunam*,⁵² *navvi*,⁵³ *pinaimari*; ⁵⁴ its male, *iralai*,⁵⁵ *ēṇu*,⁵⁶ *oruttal*,⁵⁷ *karumān*,⁵⁸ *kalai*,⁵⁹ *pulvāy*; ⁶⁰ its female, *pinai*; ⁶¹ its young, *ēni*,⁶² *kanṇu*,⁶³ *kuḷavi*,⁶⁴ *tannam*,⁶⁵ *paṇam*,⁶⁶ *pārppu*,⁶⁷ *maṇi*.⁶⁸ The ass *kafudai*,⁶⁹ besides the bullock, was a burden-bearer. The horse, *kudirai*,⁷⁰ was not a native of South India, and was imported in later times from Sind and Persia. The pig, *paṇṇi*,⁷¹ was another useful animal and was also named *ari*,⁷² *iruḷi*,⁷³ *ēṇḷi*,⁷⁴ *ēṇam*,⁷⁵ *karumā*,⁷⁶ *kaḷiṇu*,⁷⁷ *kānal*,⁷⁸ *kānma*,⁷⁹ *kidi*,⁸⁰ *kiri*,⁸¹ *kēḷai*,⁸² *kōṭṭuma*,⁸³ *maimma*,⁸⁴ *mōḷal*.⁸⁵

The dog first tamed by the hunter and then trained by the keeper of the cattle to watch the fold, was named, *nāy*,⁸⁶ *akkan*,⁸⁷ *aṣuḷam*,⁸⁸ *aṇṇam*,⁸⁹ *eginam*,⁹⁰ *kukkan*,⁹¹ *kūran*,⁹² *sunanṅam*,⁹³ *ṇāmali*,⁹⁴ *ṇāli*,⁹⁵ *tuttam*,⁹⁶ *pāsi*; ⁹⁷ its female, *pāṭṭi*,⁹⁸ *pinai*,⁹⁹ *muduvai*; ¹⁰⁰ the pup, *kuṭṭi*,¹⁰¹ *kuṇḷai*,¹⁰² *pāṇal*; ¹⁰³ the cat was called *alavan*,¹⁰⁴ *indī*,¹⁰⁵ *ōḍi*,¹⁰⁶ *pavanam*,¹⁰⁷ *pāḷkan*,¹⁰⁸ *pilli*,¹⁰⁹ *pūsai*,¹¹⁰ *pūṇai*,¹¹¹ *verugu*; ¹¹² it was also poetically called, *irpuli*,¹¹³ the house-tiger; the male cat was specially named *kaḍuvan*,¹¹⁴ *pottu*; ¹¹⁵ the kitten, *kuṭṭi*,¹¹⁶ *pāṇal*,¹¹⁷ *pillai*.¹¹⁸

1. பூனி. 2. பெற்றம். 3. பேரத்த. 4. முரி. 5. விடை. 6. கலி. 7. பரதி. 8. துரிபம். 9. பகடு. 10. பரந்த. 11. கவரி. 12. காணு. 13. காணம். 14. முரி. 15. மீதி. 16. வடை. 17. காரை. 18. குழவி. 19. கந்த. 20. கு. 21. கர. 22. உடம்பு. 23. ஏது. 24. குத்தல். 25. பகடு. 26. பேரத்த. 27. மடி. 28. செருத்தல். 29. மர. 30. விலக்கு. 31. குக்கன். 32. மா. 33. மான். 34. குரு. 35. குட்டி. 36. குரு. 37. மறி. 38. கன்ன. 39. குழவி. 40. பரப்பு. 41. மகவு. 42. குமரம். 43. உலவை. 44. கோடு. 45. குரு. 46. கோக்க. 47. உலகம். 48. கோக்கம். 49. மான். 50. உழை. 51. ஏனம். 52. சூன். 53. நவ்வி. 54. பினமரி. 55. இரலை. 56. ஏனு. 57. கர. 58. கரம். 59. கலை. 60. புவாய். 61. பினி. 62. என். 63. கன்னு. 64. குலவி. 65. தன்னம். 66. பணம். 67. பரப்பு. 68. மணி. 69. கபுடை. 70. கிடிரை. 71. பணி. 72. அரி. 73. இரூ. 74. ஏனல். 75. ஏனம். 76. கரம். 77. கலிநு. 78. கானல். 79. காமா. 80. கிடி. 81. கிரி. 82. கெடல். 83. காமா. 84. மைம். 85. மோழை. 86. நாய். 87. அக்கன். 88. அசுலம். 89. அணம். 90. குகன். 91. கிரன். 92. சுநன். 93. சூனன். 94. ணாமலி. 95. ணலி. 96. துத்தம். 97. பாசி. 98. பாட்டி. 99. பினி. 100. முதுகல். 101. குட்டி. 102. குலவி. 103. பரந்த. 104. அலவன். 105. இடீ. 106. ஒடி. 107. பவன். 108. பரக்கன். 109. பூசை. 110. பூனை. 111. வெறு. 112. இரபுலி. 113. இரபுலி. 114. கடுவன். 115. பேரத்த. 116. குட்டி. 117. பரப்பு. 118. பிலை.

The other beasts familiar to the people were *aṇil*,¹ the squirrel, *kaṛaḍi*,² the bear, *kaṭṭa*,³ the wild cow, *kiri*,⁴ the mongoose, *kurangu*,⁵ the monkey, *nari*,⁶ the jakal, *sennai*,⁷ the wild dog, the *nāy*,⁸ or the *konāy*,⁹ the wolf, *nērṇāy*,¹⁰ the beaver, *nāvippillai*,¹¹ the civet cat, *muṭṭanṇi*,¹² the porcupine, *maraimān*,¹³ the yak, *muṣu*,¹⁴ the ape, *muyal*,¹⁵ the hare, *yānai*,¹⁶ the elephant.

The chief house-pests were *eli*,¹⁷ the rat, *kāreli*,¹⁸ the black rat, *peruchchali*,¹⁹ the bandicoot, *mānjūru*,²⁰ the mouse and the ubiquitous mosquito, *koṣu*,²¹ which was such a great nuisance as to receive a dozen other names, *aṣaval*,²² *aṇalam*,²³ *ulaṅgu*,²⁴ *ṣagal*,²⁵ *tummu*,²⁶ *tuḷḷal*,²⁷ *nilambī*,²⁸ *nulumbu*,²⁹ *noḷḷal*,³⁰ *muṇal*,³¹ *valu*,³² *aṇal*,³³ *ṇ*,³⁴ the house-fly and *andu*,³⁵ insect found in stored grain. But the bed bug seems to be an import from abroad, for, it has but a *kāraṇappēyar*, i.e. *mūṭtaippūcchi*,³⁶ the bundle-insect.

BIRDS

There are many general names for birds *paṇavai*,³⁷ *kuḍiṇai*,³⁸ *kurugu*,³⁹ *pul*,⁴⁰ their young ones, *kuṇju*,⁴¹ *parppu*,⁴² the cry of birds *payir*,⁴³ their nest, *kaṭchi*,⁴⁴ *kuṇjuṇai*,⁴⁵ *kuḍambai*,⁴⁶ *kurambai*,⁴⁷ *kūṇḍu*.⁴⁸ A flock of birds was called *tholudī*,⁴⁹ the cries of a flock, *tuḷai*,⁵⁰ the beating of a birds' wings, *oṣanaittal*,⁵¹ *puḍaittal*,⁵² female birds are called *peḍai*,⁵³ *peṭṭai*,⁵⁴ *peḍai*,⁵⁵ the females of birds other than the gallinaceous fowl and the owl, *aḷagu*,⁵⁶ their males except in the case of the peafowl and the owl, *ēḷal*,⁵⁷ *ṣēval*,⁵⁸ the cock of the peafowl and the *ēḷal*, *poṭṭu*.⁵⁹ The food of birds and of some animals *irai*,⁶⁰ *uṇḍi*,⁶¹ *uṇai*,⁶² *uṭṭi*.⁶³

The following are names of some species of birds:—*anril*,⁶⁴ nightingale, *annam*,⁶⁵ swan *andai*,⁶⁶ large eyed owl, *uḷḷan*,⁶⁷ snipe, *ārkkuruvī*,⁶⁸ sparrow, *tūkkāṇḍguruvi*,⁶⁹ *kavudāri*,⁷⁰ partridge, *kavudam*,⁷¹ king-fisher, *kaḷugu*,⁷² eagle, *kaḷkai*,⁷³ crow, *nīrkkakkai*,⁷⁴ a diving water-bird, *kaḍai*,⁷⁵ quail, *kili*,⁷⁶ parrot, *kuyil*,⁷⁷ cuckoo, *kurugu*,⁷⁸ village fowl, also *kōli*,⁷⁹ another variety, *kūgai*,⁸⁰ large hooting owl, *koḷku*,⁸¹ stork, *ṣadagam*,⁸² sky-lark, *ṣichchili*,⁸³ king-fisher, *siṇai*,⁸⁴ *paḡandai*,⁸⁵ another species of partridge, *sembottu*,⁸⁶ *nārai*,⁸⁷ heron, *parundu*,⁸⁸ kite, *purā*,⁸⁹ pigeon, *mayil*,⁹⁰ peafowl.

The love of nature and close observation of natural objects which was a great characteristic of the Tamils of ancient times are constantly revealed in early Tamil poems. On later Tamil Poetry the conventions of the later artificial Sanskrit Poetry wielded

1 அனில்.	2 கசு.	3 காட்டா.	4 கெரி.	5 குருக்கு.	6 கெரி.	7 செச்சல்.	8 தாஸ்.
9 கெரஸ்.	10 தீகரஸ்.	11 சரளிப்பீகர்.	12 முட்பந்தி.	13 மரார்.	14 முக.	15 குயல்.	16 பாண்ட.
17 அலி.	18 பெருச்சாணி.	19 கரவெலி.	20 முஞ்சு.	21 கெர.	22 அசை.	23 அதுகல்.	24 உலக்கு.
25 சகல்.	26 துஞ்சு.	27 துஞ்சு.	28 நிலம்ப.	29 அத்த.	30 பெச்சாசல்.	31 முஞ்சு.	32 கெடு.
33 அதுகல்.	34 குஞ்சு.	35 குஞ்சு.	36 குஞ்சு.	37 குஞ்சு.	38 குஞ்சு.	39 குஞ்சு.	40 குஞ்சு.
41 குஞ்சு.	42 குஞ்சு.	43 குஞ்சு.	44 குஞ்சு.	45 குஞ்சு.	46 குஞ்சு.	47 குஞ்சு.	48 குஞ்சு.
49 குஞ்சு.	50 குஞ்சு.	51 குஞ்சு.	52 குஞ்சு.	53 குஞ்சு.	54 குஞ்சு.	55 குஞ்சு.	56 குஞ்சு.
57 குஞ்சு.	58 குஞ்சு.	59 குஞ்சு.	60 குஞ்சு.	61 குஞ்சு.	62 குஞ்சு.	63 குஞ்சு.	64 குஞ்சு.
65 குஞ்சு.	66 குஞ்சு.	67 குஞ்சு.	68 குஞ்சு.	69 குஞ்சு.	70 குஞ்சு.	71 குஞ்சு.	72 குஞ்சு.
73 குஞ்சு.	74 குஞ்சு.	75 குஞ்சு.	76 குஞ்சு.	77 குஞ்சு.	78 குஞ்சு.	79 குஞ்சு.	80 குஞ்சு.
81 குஞ்சு.	82 குஞ்சு.	83 குஞ்சு.	84 குஞ்சு.	85 குஞ்சு.	86 குஞ்சு.	87 குஞ்சு.	88 குஞ்சு.
89 குஞ்சு.	90 குஞ்சு.	91 குஞ்சு.	92 குஞ்சு.	93 குஞ்சு.	94 குஞ்சு.	95 குஞ்சு.	96 குஞ்சு.
97 குஞ்சு.	98 குஞ்சு.	99 குஞ்சு.	100 குஞ்சு.	101 குஞ்சு.	102 குஞ்சு.	103 குஞ்சு.	104 குஞ்சு.

great influence. Not so on the natural poetry of the earlier ages. To illustrate the keen observation of Fauna on the part of the poets, a few quotations are given. 'The pods of the *Phaseolus mungo* are like the red legs of the quail.'¹ 'The leaf of the *Caladium nymphaefolium* which grows on the hill, rich and waving, moved by the cold northwind in the month of Tai, resembles the ears of the elephant'.² 'The water-lily growing in deep pools resembles the back of the yellow-legged crane'.³ The carp, afraid that the stork would eat it, ducked under the water, but found itself near the lotus and equally feared its bud.⁴ 'The nightingale which dwells on the palmyra leaves cries gently'.⁵ 'In the cold weather the *Cassia tinctorium* is filled with flowers and looks like the neck of a peacock'.⁶ 'The path traced by the claws of the crab will be extirpated by the waves of the sea'.⁷ 'The mountain from which honey-combs are hanging, as (the trappings from) the chariot'.⁸ 'The goat has a belly like the false skin of the flowering bean'.⁹ 'The flock of yellow legged fish-eating storks look like the pearls on the breast of Murugan when they fly in the red sky'.¹⁰ 'The shaggy head of the ñemai tree looks like the rows of flags on the royal elephant. The spiders' webs round the tree waved in the west wind that blew over the hill called Ōḍai; the lean elephants mistook them for clouds and lifted their trunks to catch them and sounded like the *tambu*'.¹¹ of the actors'.¹²

¹ பூங்காவுள்ள செங்காதுமுகம். *Kurundogai*, 68.

² சிலம்பிற் செம்பிலைவாங்கல் வள்ளிலை
பெருங்கனிற்றுச் செவியின் மானத்தைஇத்
தன்வரல் வாடை துக்கும்
செம்பலி. *ib.* 76.

³ பைங்காற் கொக்கின் புள்புறத்தன்ன
குண்டிச் சாம்பல். *ib.* 122.

⁴ குருகுக்கொகக் குனிந்த கெண்டை யயல்
துருகுஞ் சாமரை வரன்முனை வெஞ்சு. *ib.* 127.

⁵ மன்றலம் பெண்ணை மடல்சேர் வாழ்க்கை
புன்றிலும் பையென காணும். *ib.* 177.

⁶ கொன்றையம் பசவி
சம்போற் பசுக்கும் காலை
... ... சாயரய பூக்கொழு பெருகுநின்
மென்மீயி லெருத்திற் தோன்றும். *ib.* 183.

⁷ ஆலவன் கூடுகிற் வரித்த
வீர்மனை வீடுகற் சிதைவ விருமென
வருகினைப் புணர். *ib.* 351.

⁸ நிரைசேர் துண்டேற் போலப்
பிரைச் சூக்குமலை. *ib.* 392.

⁹ பூங்கொடி யவரைப் போய்யத் வன்ன
வுள்ளில் வயிற் வெண்ணை வெண்ணிற்.
Agam 104.

¹⁰ கொடுவேன் மாப்பினூர் போலச்
செங்கயர் வரனத்தினைடி மீனருதும்
பைங்காற் கொக்கிலினை பறை வுசப்ப. *ib.* 120.

¹¹ பாணைக் கொண்டதுகிற் கொடியபோல
வலத்தலை நெுமயத்து வலத்த சிலம்பி
யோடைக் குன்றத்துக் கோடையொடு தயல்வா
மழையென மருண்ட மமற் பலவுட
னோய்கனி றெடுத்த சோயுடை கொடுக்கை
தொகுசொற் கோடியச் சூம்பினுயிர்க்கும். *ib.* 111.

¹² தம்பு. a musical instrument.

'Green parrot with the red bill, who go on picking the bent stalks of the panicum, do not fear me; give up the fear that any one would threaten you for picking the stalks. When you have finished with them and are at leisure, attend to my wants; I join my palms and beg you to help me in this affair. If you go to your relatives who live in my lover's country, where grows the jack tree which bears abundant fruits, meet my lover who is the lord of this mountain and tell him that the young *Kurava* woman of the forest around this mountain is guarding the millet field to-day as usual.'¹

'The banyan tree bears many boughs full of fruits; to eat the fruit many birds crowd round the tree. Their cries resemble the sound of many musical instruments.'²

'The crowds of bees which have thin wings eat the honey, and after the honey is exhausted desert the flowers.'³

'The *aval*,⁴ lamprey, with nose like an ear of corn, creeps into the mud; the *valai*,⁵ *Trichiurus lepturus*, which has a horn, moves tremulously on the water; the fishermen approach the tank which have flowers bright as the flame, the tortoise looks like the hollow-bowelled *kinai*,⁷ (the drum of the *marudam*); the gravid *varal*,⁸ *Ophicephalus striatus*, is like the *nugumbu*⁹ of the palmyra; with it fights the *kayal*,¹⁰ carp, which shines like a spear.'

TREES AND PLANTS

The ancient Tamils distinguished and named innumerable trees, plants, shrubs and creepers and knew their properties. The pure Tamil names of a few trees alone will be here referred to: *achcham*,¹¹ *Coronilla grandiflora*, commonly called *agatti*,¹² probably after *Agastiya*, *atti*,¹³ Indian fig, *anichchai*,¹⁴ a sensitive tree, *achcha*,¹⁵ *Diospyros ebenaster*, *atti*,¹⁶ *Bauhinia cernua*, *al*,¹⁷ the banyan, *itti*,¹⁸ *Ficus virens*, *ilandai*,¹⁹ jujube, *ilavam*,²⁰ the silk-cotton tree, *iluppai*,²¹ the long-leaved *Bassia*, *indu*,²² *Phoenix farinifera*, *util*,²³ *Acacia pennata*, *etti*,²⁴

¹கொடுஞ்சூர் குறைந்த செவ்வாய்ப் பைக்கிளி

பஞ்சு லோம்பி பர்ப்பதம் கொண்டு

கின்னாறு முடிந்த பின்னாறு பெண்ணாறு

செய்தல் வேண்டிமால் கைதொழு திரப்பல்

பல்கோட் பலவின் சாலைவார்ப்பு

கின்னாறு மருங்கிற் சேறி யாயி

எம்மலை 'இழுவோர்க் குறைமதி பிம்மலை

கானக் குறவர் மடமக

நெனல் காவ லாயின் 'நெனவே. *Nayrinai*, 102.

²கொடுபல முரஞ்சிய கோலி யாலத்துக்
கடியத்தனை குரல்புண்ட புன். *Maḷaiḥpaḍukadāṁ*, 268-269.

³நண்டா துண்டு வழுத்துத் தறக்கு
மென்கிறை வண்டினம். *Maduraikkāñji*, 573.

⁴கதிர்க்குக் காரல் கெழ்ச்சேற் கொலிப்பக்

கணைக்கோட்டு காலை மீசீர்ப் பிறழ

கெசீர்ப்பூம் பழை கெசீத்துடன் வளை

ரீர்க்குட் ரசியின் யாமை மீளிர்ப்

பனைது கும்பன்ன கிளைமுதிர் வாரலோ

டுறவே வன்ன கொண் கயல்.

Puram, 249.

⁵சூரல் ⁶வாளை ⁷விளை ⁸வாசல். ⁹அருமபு, perhaps the tender kernel of the fruit.

¹⁰கயல். ¹¹அச்சம். ¹²அகத்தி. ¹³ஆத்தி. ¹⁴அனிச்சை. ¹⁵ஆச்சா. ¹⁶ஆத்தி. ¹⁷ஆல்.

¹⁸இத்தி. ¹⁹இலங்கை. ²⁰இலவம். ²¹இலப்பை. ²²எருது. ²³கெசீ. ²⁴கெடிக.

Strychnos nux vomica, *elumichchai*,¹ the lemon tree, *omai*,² the mango, also *mā*,³ *kaḍambu*,⁴ *Eugenia racemosa*, *kaḍavu*,⁵ *Gyrocarpus jacquini*, *kaḍu*,⁶ the gall-nut tree, *kamugu*,⁷ the areca palm, *karungali*,⁸ the ebony, *kaḷḷi*,⁹ *Euphorbia tirucalli*, *kāya*,¹⁰ *Memecylon tinctorium*, *kurundu*,¹¹ *konṭai*,¹² Cassia, *sandanam*,¹³ or *aram*,¹⁴ sandal-wood tree, *tengu*,¹⁵ cocoanut tree, *teḷḷu*,¹⁶ teak, *nāval*,¹⁷ the jambolan tree, *nelli*,¹⁸ Indian gooseberry, *pala*,¹⁹ the jack tree, *panai*,²⁰ palmyra, *paḍiri*,²¹ *Bignonia chelonoides*, *pālai*,²² the iron-wood tree, *puḷi*,²³ the tamarind tree, *punnai*,²⁴ the Alexandrian laurel, *pūvaraṣu*,²⁵ the Portia tree, *pūvandi*,²⁶ the soapnut tree, *magil*,²⁷ a tree of very sweet smelling flower, *madaḷai*,²⁸ the pomegranate, *murungai*,²⁹ *Hyperanthera murunga*, *māngil*,³⁰ the bamboo, *vāgai*,³¹ *marudam*,³² *Terminalia alata*, *vanni*,³³ *Prosopis spicigera*, *vilvam*,³⁴ *Crataeva religiosa*, *vilā*,³⁵ the wood-apple, *vēṅgai*,³⁶ the *Pterocarpes bilobus vembu*,³⁷ the margosa tree. The names of smaller plants, and of different kinds of leaves and flowers are so numerous that it is not possible to catalogue them or even to mention the more familiar varieties. The unblown flower was called *arumbu*,³⁸ the parts of flowers, *idaḷ*;³⁹ *pūṇḍen*; ⁴⁰ young trees *nāḡu*; ⁴¹ fruiting trees, *pāḷiṇam*,⁴² trees with heart-wood inside, *āṇmaran*,⁴³ with heart-wood outside, *penṇamaram*,⁴⁴ branch, groups of trees without heart-wood, *ali*,⁴⁵ *velirū*,⁴⁶ the synonyms of the word, tree, are very considerable in number. I will content myself with noting a few poetic images which show how keen was the observation of nature by the ancient Tamils:—

‘The gourd (*pērḷḷu*,⁴⁷) with round, white flowers grows along with the thin creeper *muṣuṇḍai*,⁴⁸ on shrubs.’⁴⁹

‘The hill country has bamboos which wave to and fro and its clear clouds spread the dew amidst the peacocks whose expanded tails shine like the sapphire.’⁵⁰

‘The forest land possesses the expanding jasmine, *laḷavu*,⁵¹ the broad November flower, *tonṭi*,⁵² the mullai with the petals opened, the *īru*,⁵³ (clarifying-nut tree) which drops its flowers, the *konṭai*,⁵⁴ Cassia, whose flowers are like gold, the *kāya*,⁵⁵ whose flowers are like sapphire.’⁵⁶

‘The *kuravam*,⁵⁷ has flowered; the cold weather is gone; in the beautiful spring, in the river, a slender stream is running; the wide river with straight stretches of sand has its banks adorned with many

1. ஊழிச்சை. 2. ஹைம். 3. மா. 4. கடம்பு. 5. கடவு. 6. கடு. 7. கருகு. 8. கருகரல். 9. கன், 10. கர்ம. 11. குருந்த. 12. கொணரை. 13. கத்தைம். 14. கரடி. 15. கெடகு. 16. கெக்கு. 17. கரவல். 18. கெல்லி. 19. பலர். 20. பன். 21. பரிதி. 22. பரலை. 23. புலி. 24. புன்னை. 25. பூவரசு. 26. பூவந்தி. 27. பிழி. 28. மரந்தை. 29. முருகை. 30. முகில். 31. வரகை. 32. மருதம். 33. வன்னி. 34. விலகம். 35. விளர். 36. வேர்கை. 37. வேம்பு. 38. அரும்பு. 39. இதழ். 40. பூக்கென. 41. காடு. 42. பலனம். 43. ஆன்மம். 44. பெய்கை. 45. அலி. 46. வெலிர். 47. பீர்க்கு. 48. முசுண்டை. *Iponea Candicans*.

49. புன்னைப்பூ முசுண்டைப் பெற்றிப்பு கரையுப்
பெனபேர்ப் பீரகோடு புதற்புதல். *Neṇṇalvāḍai*, 13-14.

50. மணி மயிற் கலரப் மஞ்சிலைப் பரப்பித்
துணிமறை தவறும் துயங்கறை செடுமே கோடு.

Sirupāṇḍiruppadar, 264-5.

51. தவடி. 52. தேரந்தி. 53. தேரு. 54. கொணரை. 55. கர்ம.

56. அழிந்தவல் ஊக்கோனற்
சுருகலினை யுருதேறவிப்
பெர்தொணரை மணிக்ரய.

Porunārāṇḍiruppadar, 199-201.

marudam trees; the mango has its branches decorated with tender leaves; the smoke-like cloud creeps along its boughs filled with bunches of flowers; the cuckoos enjoy the beauty of the scene and sing.¹

'The roots of the bamboo are intertwined with each other; when the winds blow upon them they sound like the sigh of the elephant tied to its post. Looking at the moon which crept over the hill standing in a forest of bamboos, I said to myself, another moon (his mistress with a face bright as a moon) with teeth sharp as thorns and a fair face adorned by a sweet-smelling mark (*tilakam*) is standing on the hills, on whose rocks grow trees whose bare branches have shed their leaves in the strong gale, did I not?'²

'The *konrai* flowers spread on a pit cut in a stone resemble a box of the wealthy man, filled with gold coins and kept open.'³ 'The cool flowers of the *talai* (screw-pine), which has bent thorns, when scattered by the winds, run like the pearls of a garland when the thread is snapped, on the white sands of the sea-shore.'⁴

'The garden was crowded with tall bamboos from which thorns hang and on which rest the cuckoos, which have bent claws and thin blue feathers, after drinking the mango juice, sweet as if milk were mixed with it, and after that, the sour juice of the *nelli* fruit.'⁵

'The *mullai*, jasmine, which flowers in places adjoining a stream looks like the teeth of a cat laughing.'⁶

1. குரவுமலர்ச்
தந்திர நீங்கிய கரும்பலிற் றேணி
வநவிலீர் வர்ப்பணை வகையிற் றடைகரைத்
தூறையணி மருத்தொடி கல்கொள வோக்கித்
கலுத்தலி ரணித்த விருஞ்சிறை மரத்தி
நினைத்ததை புதுப்பி ருரைத்த பொங்காப்
புகைபுகை யம்மஞ் குர
வகர் குயிலகவும்.

Agam, 97.

2. வெப்பினி யவநிரத்தூக காலப்பாட நாவிலை
சுத்துபினி யானை யயர்வுயிற் தன்ன
வென்றும் நீடிய வெப்பிற் கழுவுத்த
குன்றார் மதியை கோக்கி கின்ற நினைத்
தன்னே னல்லனோ யானே முன்னேயிற்றத்
நிலகம் தைஇய தேக்கமும் திருத்த
வெழு முண்டோர் மதிநாட் டிக்கல்
குரகுரல் வெவ்வளி யெறிப்ப சிறப்பல.
வுலகை யாடிய மரத்த
கலிபிற்கு மரமலை பும்பரகி தெனவே.

Nayrinai, 62.

3. கலலை கெண்டிய கல்வாய்ச் சிறகுழி
கொன்றை யொளவீ நா ஆய்ச்செல்வத்.
பொன்பெய் பேழை முயிற்றத் தன்ன.

Kurundogai, 233.

4. கன்னுண் முண்டகக் கூம்பணி மரமலர்
அவற முத்திற் காலோடு பாறித்
தூறதொறம் பறிக்குத் துணை.

Ib., 51.

பாங்கலப் பன்ன தேக்கொக் கருத்துடி
சீல மென்னென வஞ்சுமிப் பறவை
செல்லியம்புனி மரத்தி யயலது
முள்ளி வம்பனை முக்கிவிற் றுக்குத்
கழைநிலத் தோங்கிய சேலை. Ib., 201.
5. அருவிசேர் மருங்கிற் புத்த முல்லு
வெருகுமிரித் தன்ன. Ib., 220.

IDEAL OF FEMININE BEAUTY

A people so acutely observant of natural objects and capable of keen relish of their beauty would naturally deal largely in descriptions of feminine charms; of numerous references to this subject I shall quote but one:—The songstress had hair like the black sand on the sea-shore; her fair forehead was like the crescent moon, her eye-brow bent like the bow that kills; the outer end of her cool eyes was beautiful, her sweetly speaking mouth was red like the sheath of the fruit of the silk cotton tree; her spotlessly white teeth were like rows of many pearls; her ears were like the curved handles of scissors and their lobes were shaking with bright ear rings shaped like the crocodile. Her neck was bent down with modesty; her shoulders were like the waving bamboo trees; her forearms were covered with thin hair; her fingers were like the November flower which grows on the tops of high hills; her brightly shining nails, like the mouth of a parrot. Her breasts, covered with light coloured beauty spots, were such as people thought that it would cause her pain to bear them, and were so high that the rib of a cocoanut leaf could not go between them; her navel was very beautiful and resembled a whirl-pool in water. Her waist was so small that observers could not guess that it existed (and that it bore the weight of the body) with difficulty. Her pudendum was adorned with a *mēgalai*, many stringed waist band with many bells, looking as if it swarmed with bees; her thighs, straight and thin like the trunk of a female elephant; her lower legs were covered with hair, as it ought to be, up to the ankles, and her small feet were like the tongue of a tired dog.¹

INDUSTRIES

Carpentry began and was well developed in the Stone Age; for all sorts of carpenter's tools have been picked up from the settlements of the lithic epoch. Most of these tools were made of iron when the Iron Age succeeded. The workers in wood was called *tachchar*² or *yānar*.³ Carpenters had a greater variety of work to do than in modern days, for besides making the wooden furniture and utensils in

¹ அந்நபேரே கூசுதற் பிறைப்போற் றிருமுதற்
கொலுவீற் புருவத்துக் கொழுங்கடை மழைக்க
னிலவிறழ் புரைபு மின்மொழித் துவாவரப்ப்
பலவுற முத்திற் பழிதீர் பெண்பன்
மயிருறை கருவி மரண்கடை யனை
ழக்குறை ஆசை பொறைசைக் காதி
னுடைச் சாய்த்த சலங்கின் செருத்தி
னுடைப் பனைத்தோ ளரிமயிற் முன்கை
கெடுவரை மிசைஇய காத்தன் மெல்விரா
கிரிவா யொப்பி மெனிலிடு அங்குவி
ரண்கென வருத்த கண்க்கணி யாகத்
தீர்க்கிடைப் பேரர வேளின் வனமுலை
சீர்பெயர்ச் சழிவி ளிறைந்த கொப்பி
முண்டென வுரை வயவு செவின்
வண்டிருப் பன்ன புகார முக்கு
லிருப்பிக் தடக்கையிற் செறித்திறற் குறங்கிற்
பொருத்தமயி றெழுமிய திருத்தரூட் கொப்ப
வருத்த சரப் சரவிற் பெருத்தரு சிறக. *Pornāyayupadai*, 25-47.

² தச்சர்.

³ யானர்.

household use, they had also to build houses, palaces, and temples, carts and chariots. Turning and wood-carving were highly developed. The legs of sitting planks and swinging planks were turned according different designs. Every available corner of wooden articles in houses, carts, and chariots were filled with wood carving, of elaborate patterns carved in minute detail with the extraordinary patience that the Indian artist alone is capable of. No work, big or small, left the carpenter's hands without some art work on it so that there was no sharp distinction as there is in Europe between utilitarian and artistic work. So much so that one of the synonyms for *tachchan*¹ is *Sittiran*,² artist.

Boat building was also an ancient form of wood-work, but was in the hands of men who lived in *Neydal*, that is, coast land. It is worth noting that the boat builders were affiliated with fishermen, so far as social status was concerned. The work of the boat-builder is no less skilful than that of other carpenters; but yet the social position of the later was much higher than that of the former. This was partly because the boat-builders shared in the food and the personal habits of the fishermen among whom they lived; moreover the wood-work of the boat builder is cruder than that of the carpenter and does not admit of art work like other forms of wood work, so that the boat-builder had the status of the journeyman worker whereas the carpenters were allotted the privileges of the artist. While the boat-builders were of low status, chariot-makers were the companions of kings.

Workers in metal were called *kammālar*,³ *akkasālaiyar*,⁴ *aṇivar*,⁵ *ovar*,⁶ *kannālar*,⁷ *kanvinañnar*,⁸ *kanmiyar*,⁹ *kollar*,¹⁰ *karumār*,¹¹ *laṭṭār*,¹² *tuvattār*,¹³ *pulavar*,¹⁴ *punaṭiyar*,¹⁵ *vittagar*,¹⁶ *vittiar*,¹⁷ *vinaiñnar*.¹⁸ They worked in iron, steel, copper, bronze, silver and gold. They were very skilful workers as is proved by the specimens of jewels and utensils recovered from ancient graves. Huge vessels of these various metals were made by hammering into shape immense blocks of metals. This requires much more skill than the method of cutting out sheets, *adar*,¹⁹ *tagadu*,²⁰ of metal, bending them into the shapes of the different parts of a vessel and rivetting or soldering them together, such as is done now. The import of large sheets of thin metal from Germany has made our workers forget the art of hammering out big vessels and making them without joints. The delicate carving on gold and silver that was the glory of ancient India is not yet dead, thanks to the love of personal decoration which modern civilization has not yet been able to root out of the souls of our ladies. Ladies loved jewels so much that there are many words which mean 'to wear jewels,' e.g., *aṇi*,²¹ *ar*,²² *śūdu*,²³ *punai*,²⁴ *ṇṇu*,²⁵ *malai*,²⁶ *milai*,²⁷ *milai*,²⁸ *vey*,²⁹ *ey*,³⁰ *vey*; ³¹ the noun forms of many of these words mean jewels. Some professions subsidiary to that of the goldsmiths 'who heat good gold and make shining jewels out of it'³²

1 தச்சர். 2 சித்திரன். 3 கம்மலர். 4 அக்காசலையர். 5 அணிவர். 6 ஓவர். 7 கண்ணலர். 8 கன்வினார். 9 கம்மியர். 10 கல்லார். 11 கருமார். 12 லட்டார். 13 துவட்டார். 14 புலவர். 15 புனாயர். 16 வித்தகர். 17 வித்தியர். 18 வினாயர். 19 அடர். 20 தாடு. 21 அணி. 22 ஆர். 23 குடு. 24 புனா. 25 ஸ்ரீ. 26 மலை. 27 மிலை. 28 மிலை. 29 வேய். 30 ஏய். 31 மலம்.

³² குடுற கம்பென் சுட்டிமை புனாகரும்.

were those of the *kadainar*,¹ who 'turn cut conch shells into bangles,² *kuyinar*,³ 'who drill holes in beautiful gems'⁴.

The weaver's art was equally well developed. They were called *kammiyar*,⁵ *śēṇiyar*,⁶ *kārugar*.⁷ They hawked clothes about in the streets of towns. 'Young and old weavers assembled where four streets met, stood with their legs touching each other and spread clothes whose folds, short and long, resembled the waves of the sea.'⁸

Similes derived from the work of these workmen are found in literature. One such runs as follows:—'The legs of the crab are like the open jaws of the smith who works at the furnace where air is blown in by pressing bellows made of soft skin.'⁹ 'The leaves of the water-lily are caught in the thorny rasplike stem of the cane which grows on the edges of ponds and waves slowly in the unsteady north-wind and swells and swings like the bellows which drive air quickly into the furnace of the smith.'¹⁰ 'The male bear which has a wide mouth, seeking food, breaks an ant hill whose surface is covered by curved lines and its grunt frightens the snakes which reside in the ant-hill; then it sighs like the nose of the furnace where the smith heats iron.'¹¹

Here is a splendid simile derived from the work of the blacksmith:—

'His chest was as hard as the anvil which stands before the furnace heated in the smithy where the blacksmith with strong arms turns iron into implements that may be used against the enemy.'¹²

¹ கடையர்.

² கோடுபோற் கடைதரும்

Maduraiikkāñji, 511.

³ குயினர்.

⁴ திருமணி குயினரும்.

Ib., 511.

⁵ கம்மியர்.

⁶ சேணியர்.

⁷ காருகர்

⁸ தென்முகரை யவிரதல் கடுப்பிப் பொன்றல்
குறியவு முடியவு மடிதருட விரித்தல்
சிறியரும் பெரியரும் கம்மியர் குழிது
கால்வெற தெருவினுல காவற நிறற.

Ib., 519-522.

⁹ மென்மேனின்
மிதியிலைக் கொல்லுன றறிகொடித் தன்ன
கனவத்தா ளுலவன.

Perumbāṇṇṇrupadai, 206-8.

¹⁰ பாயகை யடைகரைப் பிரம்பி
னாவர னன்ன வம்மு வெண்கெகொடி.
பருவி யாம்ப வடை துடக்கி
பகைவரல வடை துக்கவி னுதலை
யிசைவரக்கு தோலின் வீக்குபு னெடும.

Agam, 96.

¹¹ இரைதே றெண்ணி பருவா பேற்றை
கொடுவாரிப் புற்றம் வாய்ப்ப வர்க்கி
கல்லர கடுக்க வுறிக் கொல்ல
னுதலைக் குருதி னுக்குயிர்த்து.

Narṇai, 125.

¹²

பகைவர்க்

இரும்பு பயன்படுக்கும் கருக்கைக் கொல்லவர்
விசைத்தெறி கூடமொடு பெருக
முலைக்க வெண்ண வல்லர என்னே.

Puṇam, 170.

Other professions that deserve mention are that of the toddy-drawer, oil presser, sugar-cane presser, manufacturer of jaggery and of liquor.

TRADE

The word for trade *vanigam*¹ is usually supposed to be derived from Sanskrit *vaṇijyam*. The probabilities are just the other way about. *Vanijyam* is derived from *vanik* or *banik*, merchant, and this later word is almost certainly from the vedic *paṇi*. The *paṇis* were the traders of Vedic times and as they were Dasyus and would not pay *dakṣiṇā* to the performers of Ārya rites the Rishis denounced them as being niggards.² The *paṇis* being Dasyus were most probably the Tamil traders of the early Vedic epoch, for in those days the Tamils alone of South Indians were the most civilized tribes and the objects of internal trade, then and for long after, were, as it has been already pointed out, South Indian products like pearls, corals, sandal wood, pepper, and other spices. Hence the word *paṇi* and its variants and derivatives must have passed to North India from the South; hence Tamil *vaniga* became *banik* and *paṇi*. There is a Vedic root *pan*, to negotiate, which in later Sanskrit came to mean to stake. This root may have been coined from *paṇi*.

Trade first began in Neydal. For the *paradavar*³ of that region, where cereals could not be raised, could get only fish and salt to eat. Now it may be possible to keep up life solely on fish, all the courses from soup to pudding being made from that one food-stuff, but one cannot live comfortably for any length of time on fish alone, notwithstanding the fact that the remote ancestors of all animals were aquatic beings; for very soon the hankering for vegetable food will assert itself. So the ancient dwellers of the littoral tracts learnt to carry fish and salt and (later salted fish) to the neighbouring *marudam* and barter their goods for cereals. Hence in the poems belonging to the *Neydal tinai*⁴ there is frequent mention of the trade in salt. One instance of it may be given. 'His wounds caused by the sword-fish having been cured, my father has gone to the big blue sea for fishing; my mother too has gone to the salt fields to barter salt for white rice; so if the lover comes now he can without any hindrance meet his mistress.'⁵

Sellers of salt were called *umanar*,⁶ *umaṭṭiyar*.⁷ This ancient trade in which a double bag of salt was placed like a saddle on the back of a bull, which was driven from place to place in the interior of the land, can be observed even to-day in far-off villages. When the salt trade reached greater proportions it was carried in carts. 'The wheel, *uruli*⁸ of the cart was surrounded by a round rim *suṭṭu*⁹ which went round the spokes, *ar*,¹⁰ tightly fixed to the hub *kuṇadu*,¹¹ which looked like a drum, *muḻavu*.¹² The strong yoke, *pār*,¹³ was fastened to two long beams placed on the axle-tree, *parūkkai*,¹⁴ which looked like an *eḷu*,¹⁵ timber placed between two elephants to prevent them from fighting with each other. Its top, *vāy*,¹⁶ bore a creaking mat of *ragi* stalks, *arvai*,¹⁷ as the hill bears clouds on its top. In the

¹ வணிகம்.² R. V. vi. 51. 14; vii. 22. 6.³ பரதவர்.⁴ செய்தல்திணை.⁵ ஒரு வெறிந்த புண்டணிக தெக்கையு
நீனிநப் பெருகடல் புக்கண் யரவு
முப்பை யரநி வெண்ணெற் றரீஇய
வுப்புமினை சுழனி சென்றன னதனூற்
பனிவிரும் பரப்பிற் சேர்ப்பற
இனிவந் ினியவர்.*Kurundogai*, 269.⁶ உமணர்.⁷ உமட்டியர்.⁸ உருவி.⁹ சூட்டு.¹⁰ ஆர்.¹¹ குறடு.¹² முழவு.¹³ பரர்.¹⁴ பருக்கை.¹⁵ எழு.¹⁶ வாய்.¹⁷ ஆர்கை.

front of a hut which possessed a hen-coop, resembling a loft from which men guard the crops from being devastated by elephants, was a woman, with a child at her side, and a twig of margosa with flowers and leaves held in her hands to protect the child from demons; she stood near the yoke from which was hanging a pot of vinegar, tied with strings like the drum of a dancing girl on a dancing platform; and she beat the back of the bull with a wooden mortar whose mouth was as big as the knee of a female elephant with tusks resembling the shoot of a bamboo. Their men who wore garlands of flowers and leaves, whose shoulders were big, beautiful and strong, and whose limbs were supple and powerful, walked by the cart to whose yokes rows of bulls were tied with ropes passing through small holes; the men saw that the carts were not upset. They fixed the price of salt in terms of other articles and passed along the road with teams of reserve bulls to replace those that became exhausted.¹

What an extremely realistic and at the same time highly poetical description of a subject which no modern man would regard as capable of poetic treatment at all!

Another article hawked about from place to place was pepper. Grown in Malabar, the land of the Śēras, it was a necessary ingredient of curry throughout South India. 'Pepper bags looking like the small-pulped big jack fruit which grows at the foot of the majestic jack-tree are balanced on the strong, scarred, prick-eared donkey which carries the pepper along long roads where tolls are collected. These roads are guarded by bow-men.'²

Gradually as cities grew in size, the power of monarchs grew to ample proportions, civilization advanced, and trade in numerous articles of necessity and luxury grew in the land. In cities 'there were people who vended various things including many beautiful looking

¹ கொழுஞ்சூட்டஞ்சூதிய நஞ்சூங்குல பராதத
முழவீ னன்ன முழவீ வருளி
யெழுஉப் புணராதன்ன பருஉகலை கோணபர,
மாரிக் குன்ற மறைசுமக் தன்ன
வாரை வேய்த்த வறைவாய்ச் சகடம
வேழம் காவலர் குரமைப் பேய்ப்புக்
கோழி சேக்கும் டுடுடைப் புதலின்
முன்பெயிற நிரும்பிடி முழகார னேய்க்குக்
தூயனாச சிறா நூக்கத் தூக்கி
சாடக மகளி ராடுகனத் தெழித்த
விளிலீக் கினையியக் கடுப்பக் கயிறுபிணித்துக்
காடி வைத்த கலனுடை ழுக்கின்
மகவுடை மகடுப்ப பகடுபுறா தூப்பக்
கோட்டினர் வேய்பி னேட்டிலு மிடைசுத
படலக் கண்ணிப் பரோடுதத் தினிதேன
முடலை யாக்கை முழுவலி மரக்கர்
சிறுதுணக் கொடுகை கொற்பட நிறைத்த
பெருக்கிற் குறுகை மருங்கிற் காப்பச்
சிலப்ப வணவின கொள்ளு சாற்றிப்
புல்லுருத் துணை பறிபோரு கெடுகாத

Perumbūnāyruṇṇadai, 46-65.

² தடவிலிப் பலவின் முழுமுதற் கொடை
செய்கைப் பெருமபுழக் கடுப்ப தெயிற
புணர்ப்பொறை தாக்கிய வவொழி கோள்புற
தணர்ச்செவிக் கழைதத் சாத்தோடு வழங்கு
முக்குடைப் பெருவழிக் கலைக் கர்க்கும
விவ்வுடை வைப்பு.

ibid., 77-82.

articles of food, produced in the hill country, in the low country and in the sea. There were traders who, brought different kinds of brilliant gems, pearls and gold from far off lands.... There were men who assayed gold; there were sellers of clothes, vendors of copper vessels which were sold by weight, men who, when their business was over, tied the proceeds to their loin cloth, men who sold choice flowers, and scented pastes. There were clever painters, *kanṇuḷ vinaiṇar*,¹ who painted pictures of all kinds of minute incidents'.² This description pertains to the trade of the beginning of the first millennium A.D., but this trade could not have differed from that of a very much earlier epoch, because civilization did not grow by leaps and bounds in any particular period, but grew so gradually that the life conditions of any one epoch resembled very much those of previous ages.

'Traders carried jewels to foreign countries on ships that had sails spread in the wind and that sailed on the ocean whose waves smelt of fish'.³ They carried jewels for sale on land, but in a country where the *Mayavar* followed as their only profession that of highway robbery, the travels of traders were fraught with adventure. 'The merchants who enabled all men to enjoy the grand things which are found on the mountain and in the sea have breasts full of scars made by the piercing arrows, clothes tied tight round their waists and a knife stuck into it, strong broad shoulders to which was attached the cruel bow and so resembled *Murugan* who wears the *Kadambu* flower. They held in their hands a big spear like *Yaman*. A stinging dagger with a white handle made of ivory, looking like a snake creeping on a hill, was tied with a belt to their shoulders; their strong feet were covered with shoes and they wore coats'.⁴

¹ கண்ணுள் வினைஞர்.

² பல்வேறு பண்டமோ தேன்மலிந்து கவினி
மலையவு நிலத்தவு சீரவும் பிறவும்
பல்வேறு திருமணி முதலொடு பெரன்கொண்டு
சிறந்த தேவத்துப் பண்ணியம் பகராரும்

பொன்னுரை காண்மரும் கலிக்கம் பகராகுஞ்
செம்புரிதை கொண்மரும் வம்புரிதை முடிசரும்
பூவும் புகைபு மாபு மரக்கஞ்
மெய்வகைச் செய்திபு முவமங்காட்டி
நுண்ணிதி னுணர்ந்த நுழைந்த நோக்கித்
கண்ணுள் வினைஞரும்.

Maduraiikkāṇji, 503-6, 513-18.

'பண்ணியம்' in this passage meaning an article of trade is a derivative of *Pappi* trader.

³ வாலிதை யெடுத்த வனிதரு வங்கம்

கண்டதலை வினைஞர் கலங்கொண்டு மறுக.

Ib., 536 and 539.

⁴ மலையவுக் கடலவு மாண்பயத் தருக
மரும்பொரு எடுத்துத் திருத்தொடை கோன்று
எடிபுதை பாண மெய்திப் படம்புக்குப்
பொருகளை தொலச்சிய புணைச் மாப்பின்
விரவுவரிக் கச்சின் வெண்கை யொர்வார்
வரைபூப் பரம்பின் பூண்டுபுடை துங்கச்
சுரிகை நுழைந்த சுற்றவீங்கு செறிவுடைச்
சுருவி லோச்சிய கண்ணை மெழும்ப்தோட்
சடம்பம் செடுவே என்ன மீனி
புடம்பிகத் தடக்கை போடா வம்பலர்.

Perumbāṇṇṇuppaḍai, 67-76.

Balances for weighing articles of trade were of two kinds. One was the steel-yard called *ñemankol*¹ or *niyaikol*;² this was made of wood and resembled the steelyards used in villages to-day; rich merchants, however, used steelyards made of ivory.³ The second was the *tarāṣu*,⁴ a pair of scales. All this trade was carried on by barter, as old Indians did not like to coin metal, and when they got coins from foreign countries, made jewels of them for their bosoms or hoarded them deep in the bosom of mother-earth.

Traders, in the Tamil country, were and are called *setti*.⁵ This word has been sanskritized into *śreshthī* and assimilated to the adjective *śreshtha*, excellent. *Śreshthī* is by some supposed to have degenerated into *setti*; I consider this derivation to be a lopsy-turvy one. *Setti* is the personal noun from *settu*, trade, a *setti* being one who pursues *settu*, trade, as his profession; for it is absurd to think that the Tamil traders carried on their profession for ages without a name for their profession or for themselves as followers of the profession. Hence it is reasonable to infer that *śreshthī* is Tamil *setti* dressed in a Sanskrit garb. Sanskrit scholars suffer from a form of superiority-complex and believe that Sanskrit, the language of the Gods, being a perfect language, could not stoop so low as to borrow words from the languages of men. Hence they are fond of inventing derivations, ingenious and plausible, but absurd from a historical point of view, for words borrowed from foreign sources. Thus they say that *hammitra*, borrowed from Persian *amir*, is a contraction of *aham vīrah*; they explain *kshatrapa*, satrap also borrowed from Persian, as *kshtram pāṭṭi kshatrapah*; they derive *horā*, which was borrowed from Greek, from *ahorātram*, with its head and its tail amputated. The derivation of *setti* from *śreshthī* is of a piece with these products of a perverse ingenuity.

The capital with which the ancient traders traded was called *mudal*,⁶ initial stock. I wonder whether *mudaliyar*⁷ meant originally men with *mudal*. There has always been a rivalry between *mudaliar* and *pillai*⁸ with regard to social status; does this point to an ancient rivalry between merchants and agriculturists? We have no materials which can help us to solve this question. Literary evidence merely indicates that both those who produced crops and those who sold them belonged to the class of *mēṭṭar*,⁹ who were qualified to become the heroes of love poems.

Trade on any scale would scarcely be possible without debts. The word *kaḍam*¹⁰ shows that debts were contracted in olden times. Interest was called *vaṭṭi*,¹¹ a word usually identified with prakrit *vaddi* Sanskrit *vriddhi*. The Tamil word might as well be derived from Tamil *vaṭṭu*, a small piece, or *vaṭṭi*, cowries, cowries being small change, *sillaṟai*.¹² *Vaṭṭi*¹³ meant a deduction other than *vaṭṭi*; the literal meaning of the word seems to be 'additional'. The places where mercantile transactions took place were *kaḍai*,¹⁴ *maṭigai*,¹⁵ *aṅḡādi*,¹⁶ and *sandai*,¹⁷ which has become in English 'Shandy'.

1. வெண்கலக்கால்.

2. நெய்க்கால்.

யானை வான்மருகுப் பெந்தை வெண்கலக்கால்
கோணிதைத் துலகாது.

Puṇam 39.

* தரக. 5. பச்சட்டம். 6. முதுதல். 7. முதுலியர். 8. பிச்சுரை. 9. மெட்டர். 10. கடம்.
11. வட்டம். 12. இல்லறை. 13. வாடி. 14. கடை. 15. மளிகை. 16. அங்காடி. 17. சாந்தை.

There are several minor subjects about which the evidence of pure Tamil words and of early literature can be profitably used¹, but which I have now no time to deal with. Those subjects are: Diseases and medicines, knowledge of human and animal anatomy, notions of jurisprudence, recognized terms of relationship, death-rites, division of time, astronomical notions, knowledge of colours, of meteorological phenomena, reading and writing, notions of psychology and ethics. Without the inclusion of these subjects, our reconstruction of the life of the ancient Tamils will not be complete.

This life of the Tamil people slowly evolved from the beginning of the Old Stone Age, that of the Āryas of North India began to influence. This was not a catastrophic inroad into the south from the north but a very slow process of infiltration. This infiltration began in the middle of the third millennium B.C. Then Paraśurāma settled with a number of followers, south of the Vindhya. Many of Viśvamitra's sons, soon after, migrated to South India, as the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* informs us. But yet at the beginning of the second millennium B.C., when Rāma crossed the Godāvari, the non-Aryan Rākshasas were predominant in Southern India and the southernmost Ārya colony was that of the Āgastyas on the banks of that river. In the age of the Mahābhārata, in which Tamil soldiers took part, Ārya influence in Southern India increased. But still in about the sixth century B.C. Āpastambha, the last of the Sūtrakāras, called a Rishi by courtesy, flourished near the banks of the Godāvari and made laws for the Āryas there. Tamil India produced no Rishi, neither a Rishi of the *mantradrashī* type, nor even of the later type of the promulgator of the Śrauta, Gṛhya, and Dharma Sūtras. Into the Tamil land, Brāhmanas, Bauddhas, and Jainas spread in the centuries preceding and succeeding the beginning of the Christian era. The early Pallavas of Kāñchī were chiefly responsible for this migration of the Āryas. Notwithstanding the widespread of Brāhmaṇas, literature was chiefly in the hands of the Tamil *Pāṇar* and hence neither the Sanskrit language nor Sanskrit literature exercised much influence till about the fifth century after Christ. Early in that age, Trīṇadhūmāgni, author of *Tolkāppiyam*, tried to adapt the social system of the northerners to the Tamil people, but without any success. Meanwhile the religious ideas of the *Itihāsas* spread among the common people. The teachings and practices of the Bauddhas and the Jainas were also promulgated from the monasteries of those monks. The complicated rites of Siva-worship and Viṣṇu-worship as propounded in the Āgamas were adopted by the people and temple rites became the monopoly of a special sect of Brāhmaṇas; as a result of this, these two cults became wedded to the Ārya system of four varṇas, ill-adjusted to the old scheme of Tamil classes. One of the results of this was the extension of the idea of endogamous caste and the rise of innumerable castes marked by endogamy—an idea unknown to the Tamils of the early ages. Another result was that Tamil lost its linguistic and literary independence. A copious flow of Sanskrit words into the Tamil tongue took place. In the region of literature, the old ode, *agaval*¹ gave place to *kāvīyam*.² Not only literary forms but also literary images, literary conventions, and poetic images, belonging to

¹ *Agaval*

² *Kāvīyam*

Sanskrit, crept into Tamil poems. The *Mokshaśāstram* of the north-
 erners, represented by the *Upanishads*, the *Bhagavad Gītā* and the
Vedānta Sūtras, prevailed in the South. Very soon South India more
 than amply repaid this debt to North India by producing the three
 great *Bhāṣyakāras*—Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja and Ānandatīrtha.

The genius of Tamil is marked by the scientific temperament ; concrete ideas and images appeal to the Tamil people and hence Tamil is peculiarly fitted to be the vehicle of scientific knowledge. The genius of Sanskrit is marked by the philosophical temperament ; it revels in abstractions which are the life-breath of philosophy. It was the wedding of Tamil genius and Sanskrit genius that is responsible for South Indian thinkers having become the guides of Indian thought during the last thousand years. In our days the genius of Europe has begun to influence India. The great ambition of Europe is to amass wealth and to utilize it for raising the standard of life, by developing the means of attainment of the ever-increasing methods of appealing to the senses, not only the five senses, but also that of locomotion. How far the genius of Europe is going to alter the life of the Tamils is concealed in the womb of time. We have succeeded in tearing the veil of past time and getting a few glimpses of ancient life ; but future time is covered by a veil of nebulous matter which cannot be pierced by any known methods of enquiry.